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## THE TUTELO TRIBE AND LANGUAGE.

By Horatio Hale.
(Read before the American Philosophical Society, March 2, 188s.)
The tribes of the Dakota stock, under various designations-Osages, Quappas, Kansas, Otoes, Omahas, Minitarees (or Hidatsas), Iowas, Mandans, Sioux (or Dakotas proper) and Assiniboins, have always been regarded as a people of the western prairies, whose proper home was the vast region lying west of the Mississippi, and stretching from the Arkansas River on the south to the Saskatchawan on the north. A single tribe, the Winnebagoes, who dwelt east of the Mississippi, near the western shore of Lake Michigan, were deemed to be intruders into the territory of the Algonkin nations. The fact, which has been recently ascertained, that several tribes speaking languages of the Dakota stock were found by the earliest explorers occupying the country east of the Alleghenies, along a line extending through the southern part of Virginia and the northern portion of North Carolina, nearly to the Atlantic ocean, has naturally a wakened much interest. This interest will be heightened if it shall appear that not only must our ethnographical maps of North America be modified, but that a new element has been introduced into the theory of Indian migrations. Careful researches seem to show that while the language of these eastern tribes is closely allied to that of the western Dakotas, it bears evidence of being older in form. If this conclusion shall be verified, the supposition, which at first was natural, that these eastern tribes were merely offshoots of the Dakotav stock, must be deemed at least improbable. The course of migration may be found to have followed the contrary direction, and the western Dakotas, like the western Algonkins, may find their parent stock in the east. As a means of solving this interesting problem, the study of the history and language of a tribe now virtually extinct assumes a peculiar scientific value. Philologists will notice, also, that in this study there is presented to them a remarkable instance of an inflected language closely allied in its vocabu-

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lary and in many of its forms to dialects which are mainly agglutinative in their structure, and bear but slight traces of inflection.
In the year 1671 an exploring party under Captain Batt, leaving "the Apomatock Town," on the James River, penetrated into the mountains of Western Virginia, at a distance, by the route they traveled, of two hundred and fifty miles from their starting point. At this point they found " the Tolera Town in a very rich swamp between a breach [branch] and the main river of the Roanoke, circled about by mountains."* There are many errata in the printed narrative, and the circumstances leave no doubt that "Tolera" should be "Totera." On their way to this town the party had passed the Supong [Sapony] town, which, according to the journal, was about one hundred and fifty miles west of the Apomatock Town, and about a hundred miles east of the "Toleras." A few years later we shall find these tribes in closer vicinity and connection.

At this period the Five Nations were at the height of their power, and in the full flush of that career of conquest which extended their empire from the Georgian Bay on the north to the Roanoke River on the south. They had destroyed the Hurons and the Eries, had crushed the Andastes (or Conestoga Indians), hind reduced the Delawares to subjection, and were now brought into direct collision with the tribes of Virginia and the Carolinas. The Toteras (whom we shall henceforth know as the Tuteloes) began to feel their power. In 1636 the French missionaries had occasion to record a projected expedition of the Senecas against a people designated in the printed letter the "Tolere,"-the same misprint occurring once more in the same publication.t The traditions of the Tuteloes record long continued and destructive wars waged against them and their allies by the Iroquois, and more especially by the two western nations, the Cayugas and Senecas. To escape the incursions of their numerous and relentless enemies, they retreated further to the south and east. Here they came under the observation of a skilled explorer, John Lawson, the Sur-veyor-General of South Carolina, In 1701, Lawson traveled from Char1eston, S. C., to Pamlico sound. In this journey he left the sea-coast at the mouth of the Santee river, and pursued a northward course into the hilly country, whence he turned eastward to Pamlico At the Sapona river, which was the west branch of the Cape Fear or Clarendon river, he came to the Sapona town, where he was well received. $\ddagger$ He there heard of the Toteros as "a neighboring nation " in the "western mountains." "At that time," he adds, "these Toteros, Saponas, and the Keyawees, three small nations, were going to live together, by which they thought they should strengthen themselves and become formidable to their enemies."

[^0]They were then at war with the powerful and dreaded Senecas-whom Lawson styles Sinnagers. While he was at the Sapona town, some of the Toteras warriors came to visit their allies. Lawson was struck with their appearance. He describes them, in his quaint idiom, as "tall, likely men, having great plenty of buffaloes, elks and bears, with e very sort of deer, amongst them, which strong food makes large, robust bodies." In another place he adds: "These five nations of the Toteros, Saponas, Keiauwees, Aconechos and Schoicories are lately come amongst us, and may contain in all about 750 men, women and children,"* It is known that the Toteroes (or Tuteloes) and Saponas understood each other's speech, and it is highly probable that all the five tribes belonged to the same stock. They had doubtless fled together from southwestern Virginia before their Iroquois invaders. The position in which they had taken refuge might well have seemed to them safe, as it placed between them and their enemies the strong and warlike Tuscarora nation, which numbered then, according to Lawson's estimate, twelve hundred warriors, clustered in fifteen towns, stretching along the Neuse and Tar rivers. Yet, even behind this living rampart, the feeble confederates were not secure. Lawson was shown, near the Sapona town, the graves of seven Indians who had been lately killed by the "Sinnegars or Jennitos"-names by which Gallatin understands the Senecas and Oneidas, though as regards the latter identification there may be some question.

The noteworthy fact mentioned by Lawson, that buffaloes were found in "great plenty" in the hilly country on the head waters of the Cape Fear river, may be thought to afford a clue to the causes which account for the appearance of tribes of Dakota lineage east of the Alleghenies. The Dakotas are peculiarly a hunting race, and the buffalo is their favorite game. The fact that the Big Sandy river, which flows westward from the Alleghenies to the Ohio, and whose head waters approach those of the Cape Fear river, was anciently known as the Totteroy river, has been supposed to afford an indication that the progress of the Toteros or Tutelos, and perhaps of the buffaloes which they hunted, may be traced along its course from the Ohio valley eastward. There are evidences which seem to show that this valley was at one time the residence, or at least the hunt-ing-ground, of tribes of the Dakota stock. Gravier (in 1700) affirms that the Ohio river was called by the Illinois and the Miamis the Akansea river, because the Akanseas formerly dwelt along it. $\dagger$ The Akanseas were identical with the Quappas, and have at a later day given their name to the river and State of Arkansas. Catlin found reason for believing

[^1]that the Mandans, another tribe of the Southern Dakota stock, formerly -and at no very distant period-resided in the valley of the Ohio. The peculiar traces in the soil which marked the foundations of their dwellings and the position of their villages were evident, heaffirms, at various points along that river. It is by no means improbable that when the buffalo abounded on the Ohio, the Dakota tribes found its valley their natural home, and that they receded with it to the westward of the Mississippi. But the inference that the region west of the Mississippi was the original home of the Dakotas, and that those of that stock who dwe.t on the Ohio or east of the Alleghenies were emigrants from the Western prairies, does not, by any means, follow. By the same course of reasoning we might conclude that the Aryans had their original seat in Western Europe, that the Portuguese were emigrants from Brazil, and that the English derived their origin from America. The migrations of races are not to be traced by such recent and casual vestiges. The only evidence which has real weight in any inquiry respecting migrations in prehistoric times is that of language ; and where this fails, as it sometimes does, the question must be pronounced unsoluble.
The protection which the Tuteloes had received from the Tuscaroras and their allies soon failed them. In the year 1711 a war broke out between the Tuscaroras and the Carolina settlers, which ended during the following year in the complete defeat of the Indians. After their overthrow the great body of the Tuscaroras retreated northward and joined the Iroquois, who received them into their league as the sixth nation of the confederacy. A portion, however, remained near their original home. They merely retired a short distance northward into the Virginian territory, and took up their abode in the tract which lies between the Roanoke and the Potomac rivers. Here they were allowed to remainat peace, under the protection of the Virginian government. And here they were presently joined by the Tuteloes and Saponas, with their confederates. In September, 1722, the governors of New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, held a conference at Albany with the chiefs of the Iroquois, to endeavor to bring about a peace between them and the southern tribes. On this occasion Governor Spotteswood, of Virginia, enumerated the tribes for which the government of his Province would undertake to engage. Among them were certain tribes which were commonly known under the name of the "Christanna Indians," a name derived from that of a fort which had been established in their neighborhood. These were "the Saponies, Ochineeches, Stenkenoaks, Meipontskys, and Toteroes," all of whom, it appears, the Iroquois were accustomed to comprehend under the name of Todirichrones.*

Some confusion and uncertainty, however, arise in consulting the colonial records of this time, from the fact that this name of Todirichrones was applied by the Iroquois to two distinct tribes, or rather confederacies, of Southern Indians, belonging to different stocks, and speaking languages

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## [Hale.

totally dissimilar. These were, on the one hand, the Tuteloes (or Toteroes) and their allies, and, on the other, the powerful Catawba nation. The Catawbas occupied the eastern portion of the Carolinas, south of the Tuscarora nation. At the beginning of the last century they numbered several thousand souls. As late as 1743, according to Adair, they could still muster four hundred warriors. A bitter animosity existed between them and the Iroquois, leading to frequent hostilities, which the English authorities at this conference sought to repress. It was the policy of the Iroquois, from ancient times, always to yield to overtures of peace from any Indian nation. On this occasion they responded in their usual spirit. "Though there is among you," they replied to the Virginians, "a nation, the Todirichrones, against whom we have had so inveterate an enmity that we thought it could only be extinguished by their total extirpation, yet, since you desire it, we are willing to receive them into this peace, and to forget all the past." ${ }^{\prime *}$
The Cataw ba language is a peculiar speech, differing widely, if not radically, both from the Dakota and from the Iroquois languages. $\dagger$ The only connection between the Catawbas and the Tuteloes appears to have arisen from the fact that they were neighboring, and perhaps politically allied tribes, and were alike engaged in hostilities with the Iroquois. The latter, however, seem to have confounded them all together, under the name of the tribe which lay nearest to the confederacy and was the best known to them.
One result of the peace thus established was that the Tuteloes and Saponas, after a time, determined to follow the course which had been taken by the major portion of their Tuscarora friends, and place themselves directly under the protection of the Six Nations. Moving northward across Virginia, they established themselves at Shamokin (since named Sunbury) in what is now the centre of Pennsylvania. It was a region which the Iroquois held by right of conquest, its former occupants, the Delawares and Shawanese, having been either expelled or reduced to subjection. Here, under the shadow of the great confederacy, many frag-

[^3]ments of broken tribes were now congregated-Conoys, Nanticokes, Delawares, Tuteloes, and others.
In September, 1745, the missionary, David Brainerd, visited Shamokin. He describes it in his diary as containing upwards of fifty houses and nearly three hundred persons. "They are," he says, "of three different tribes of Indians, speaking three languages wholly unintelligible to each other. About one half of its inhabitants are Delawares, the others Senekas and Tutelas."* Three years later, in the summer of 1748, an exploring party of Moravian missionaries passed through the same region. The celebrated Zeisberger, who was one of them, has left a record of their travels. From this we gather that the whole of the Tuteloes were not congregated in Shamokin. Before reaching that town, they passed through Skogari, in what is now Columbia county. In Zeisberger's biography the impression formed of this town by the travelers is expressed in brief but emplatic terms. It was "the only town on the continent inhabited by Tuteloes, a degenerate remnant of thieves and drunkards." $\dagger$ This disparaging description was perhaps not unmerited. Yet some regard must be paid to a fact of which the good missionary could not be aware, namely, that the Indians who are characterized in these unsavory terms belonged to a stock distinguished from the other Indians whom he knew by certain marked traits of character. Those who are familiar with the various branches of the Indian race are aware that every tribe, and still more every main stock, or ethnic family, has certain special characteristics, both physical and mental. The Mohawk differs in look and character decidedly from the Onondaga, the Delaware from the Shawanese, the Sioux from the Mandan ; and between the great divisions to which these tribes belong, the differences are much more strongly marked. The Iroquois have been styled "the Romans of the West." The designation is more just than is usual in such comparisons. Indeed, the resemblance between these great conquering communities is strikingly marked. The same politic forethought in council, the same respect for laws and treaties, the same love of conquest, the same relentless determination in war, the same clemency to the utterly vanquished, a like readiness to strengthen their power by the admission of strangers to the citizenship, an equal reliance on strong fortifications, similar customs of forming outlying colonies, and of ruling subject mations by proconsular deputies, a similar admixture of aristocracy and democracy in their constitution, a like taste for agriculture, even a notable similarity in the strong and heavy mould of figure and the bold and massive features, marked the two peoples who, on widely distant theatres of action, achieved not dissimilar destinies.
Pursuing the same classical comparison, we might liken the nearest neigh bors of the Iroquois, the tribes of the Algonkin stock, whose natural traits are exemplified in their renowned sachems, Powhatan, Philip of Pokano-

[^4]ket, Miantanomah, Pontiac, and Tecumseh, to the ingenious and versatile Greeks, capable of heroism, but incapable of political union, or of long-sustained effort. A not less notable resemblance might be found between the wild and wandering Scythians of old, and the wild and wandering tribes of the great Dakotan stock. Reckless and rapacious, untamable and fickle, fond of the chase and the fight, and no less eager for the dance and the feast, the modern Dakotas present all the traits which the Greek historians and travelers remarked in the barbarous nomads who roamed along their northern and eastern frontiers.

The Tuteloes, far from the main body of their race, and encircled by tribes of Algonkin and Iroquois lineage, showed all the distinctive characteristics of the stock to which they belonged. The tall, robust huntsmen of Lawson, chasers of the elk and the deer, had apparently degenerated, half a century later, into a "remnant of thieves and drunkards," at least as seen in the hurried view of a passing missionary. But it would seem that their red-skinned neighbors saw in them some qualities which gained their respect and liking. Five years after Zeisberger's visit, the Iroquois, who had held them hitherto under a species of tutelage, decided to admit them, together with their fellow-refugees, the Algonkin Nanticokes from the Eastern Shore of Maryland, to the full honors of the confederacy. The step received the commendation of so shrewd a judge as Colonel (afterwards Sir William) Johnson. At a great council of the Six Nations, held at Onondaga in September, 1753, Colonel Johnson congratulated the Cayugas on the resolution they had formed of "strengthening their castle" by taking in the Tedarighroones.* At about the same time a band of Delawares was received into the League. When a great council was to be convened in 1756, to confer with Colonel Johnson on the subject of the French war, wampum belts were sent to nine "nations" of the confederacy. $\dagger$ From this time the chiefs of the Tuteloes, as well as o the Nanticokes and the Delawares, took their seats in the Council of the League, a position which they still hold in the Canadian branch of the confederacy, thongh the tribes whom they represent have coased to exist as such, and have become absorbed in the larger nations.
It would seem, however, that their removal from their lands on the Susquehanna to the proper territory of the Six Nations did not take place immediately after their reception into the League, and perhaps was never wholly completed. In an "account of the location of the Indian tribes," prepared by Sir William Johnson in November, 1763, the four small tribes of "Nanticokes, Conoys, Tutecoes [an evident misprint] and Saponeys," are bracketed together in the list as mustering in all two hundred men, and are described as "a people removed from the southward, and settled on or about the Susquehanna, on lands allotted by the Six Nations." $\ddagger$

Though the Tuteloes were thus recognized as one of the nations of the

[^5]confederacy, and as such kept up their distinct tribal organization, they were regarded as being in a special manner the friends and allies of the Cayugas. The latter, a tribe always noted for their kindly temper, received the new comers within their territory, and gave them a site for their town, which of course brought with it the hunting and fishing privileges necessary for their existence. The principal Cayuga villages were clustered about the lake to which the nation has given its name. South of them lay the land assigned to the Tuteloes. Their chief settlement, according to a careful observer, was on the east side of Cayuga inlet, about three miles from the south end of Cayuga lake, and two miles south of Ithaca. "The town was on the high ground south of the school-house, nearly opposite Buttermilk Falls, on the farm of James Fleming. On the Guy Johnson's map of 1771, it figures (by a slight misprint) as Todevigh-rono. It was called in the Journal of General Dearborn, Coreorgonel ; in the Journal of George Grant (1779), Dehoriss-kanadia; and on a map made about the same date Kayeghtalagealat. " *

The town was destroyed in 1779 by General Sullivan, in the expedition which avenged, so disastrously for the Six Nations, the ravages committed by them upon the settlements of their white neighbors. The result, as is well known, was the destruction of the ancient confederacy. Of the broken tribes, some fragments remained in their original seats, submitting to the conquerors. All the Mohawks, the greater part of the Cayugas, about half of the Onondagas, and many of the Oneidas, with a few of the Senecas and Tuscaroras, followed Brant to Canada. The British government furnished them with lands, mostly along the Grand River, in the territory which in ancient times had been conquered by the Iroquois from the people who were styled the Neutral Nation. The Tuteloes accompanied their friends the Cayugas. A place was found for them in a locality which seemed at the time attractive and desirable, but which proved most unfortunate for them. They built their town on a pleasant elevation, which stretches along the western bank of the Grand River, and still bears the name of Tutelo Heights. Under this name it now forms a suburb of the city of Brantford.
Fifty years ago, when the present city was a mere hamlet, occupied by a few venturous Indian traders and pioneers, the Tutelo cabins were scattered over these heights, having in the midst their "long-house" in which their tribal councils were held, and their festivals celebrated. They are said to have numbered then about two hundred souis. They retained apparently the reckless habits and love of enjoyment which had distinguished them in former times. Old people still remember the uproar of the dances which enlivened their council-house. Unhappily, the position of

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NIKONHA, THE LAST TUTELO.
IN 1870 ; AGED 106.
their town brought them into direct contact with the white settlements. Their frames, enfeebled by dissipation, were an easy prey to the diseases which followed in the track of the new population. In 1832, the Asiatic cholera found many victims on the Indian Reserve. The Tuteloes, in proportion to their numbers, suffered the most. The greater part of the tribe perished. Those who escaped clung to their habitations a few years longer. But the second visitation of the dreadful plague in 1848 completed the work of the first. The Tutelo nation ceased to exist. The few survivors fled from the Heights to which they have left their name, and took refuge among their Cayuga friends. By intermarriage with these allies, the small remnant was soon absorbed; and in the year 1870, only one Tutelo of the full blood was known to be living, the last survivor of the tribe of stalwart hunters and daring warriors whom Lawson encountered in Carolina a hundred and seventy years before.
This last surviving Tutelo lived among the Cayugas, and was known to them by the name of Nikonha. Okonha in the Cayuga dialect signifies mosquito. Nikonha was sometimes, in answer to my inquiries, rendered "mosquito," and sometimes "little," perhaps in the sense of mosquitolike. His Tutelo name was said to be Waskiteng ; its meaning could not be ascertained, and it was perhaps merely a corruption of the English word mosquito. At all events, it was by the rather odd cognomen of "Old Mosquito," that he was commonly known among the whites ; and he was even so designated, I believe, in the pension list, in which he had a place as having served in the war of 1812. What in common repute was deemed to be the most notable fact in regard to him was his great age. He was considered by far the oldest man on the Reserve. His age was said to exceed a century; and in confirmation of this opinion it was related that he had fought under Brant in the American war of Independence. My friend, Chief George Johnson, the government interpreter, accompanied us to the residence of the old man, a $\log$ cabin, built on a small eminence near the centre of the Reserve. His appearance, as we first saw him, basking in the sunshine on the slope before his cabin, confirmed the reports which I had heard, both of his great age and of his marked intelligence. "A wrinkled, smiling countenance, a high forehead, half-shut eyes, white hair, a scanty, stubbly beard, fingers bent with age like a bird's claws," is the description recorded in my note-book. Not only in physiognomy, but also in demeanor and character, he differed strikingly from the grave and composed Iroquois among whom he dwelt. The lively, mirthful disposition of his race survived in full force in its latest member. His replies to our inquiries were intermingled with many jocose remarks, and much good-humored laughter.

He was married to a Cayuga wife, and for many years had spoken only the language of her people. But he had not forgotten his proper speech, and readily gave us the Tutelo renderings of nearly a hundred words. At that time my only knowledge of the Tuteloes had been derived from the few notices comprised in Gallatin's Synopsis of the Indian Tribes, where

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they are classed with the nations of the Huron-Iroquois stock. At the same time, the distinguished author, with the scientific caution which marked all his writings, is careful to mention that no vocabulary of the language was known. That which was now obtained showed, beyond question, that the language was totally distinct from the Huron-Iroquois tongues, and that it was closely allied to the languages of the Dacotan family.

The discovery of a tribe of Dakota lineage near the Atlantic coast was so unexpected and surprising that at first it was natural to suspect some mistake. The idea occurred that the old Tutelo might have been a Sioux captive, taken in the wars which were anciently waged between the Iroquois and the tribes of the far West. With the view of determining this point, I took the first opportunity, on my next visit to the Reserve, in October, 1870, of questioning the old man about his early history, and that of his people. His answers soon removed all doubt. He believed himself to be a hundred and six years old ; and if so, his earliest recollections would go back to a time preceding by some years the Revolutionary war. At that time his people, the Tuteloes, were living in the neighborhood of two other tribes, the Saponies and the Patshenins or Botshenins. In the latter we may perhaps recognize the Ochineeches, whom Governor Spotteswood, in 1703, enumerated with the Saponies, Toteroes, and two other tribes, under the general name of Christanna Indians. The Saponies and Tuteloes, old Nikonha said, could understand one another's speech. About the language of the Patshenins, I neglected to inquire, but they were mentioned with the Saponies as a companion tribe. When the Tuteloes came to Canada with Brant, they parted with the Saponies at Niagara Falls, and he did not know what had become of them. His father's name was Onusōwa; he was a chief among the Tuteloes. His mother (who was also a Tutelo), died when he was young, and he was brought up by an uncle. He had heard from old men that the Tuteloes formerly lived on a great river beyond Washington, which city he knew by that name. In early times they were a large tribe, but had wasted away through fighting. Their war parties used to go out frequently against various enemies. The tribes they most commonly fought with were the Tuscaroras, Senecas, and Cayugas. A fterwards his tribe came to Niagara (as he expressed it), and joined the Six Nations. He knew of no Tutelo of the full blood now living, except himself.

This, with some additions to my vocabulary, was the last information which I received from old Waskiteng, or Nikonha. He died a few months later (on the 21st of February, 18\%1), before I had an opportunity of again visiting the Reserve. There are, however, several half-castes, children of Tutelo mothers by Iroquois fathers, who know the language, and by the native law (which traces descent through the female) are held to be Tuteloes. One of them, who sat in the council as the representative of the tribe, and who, with a conservatism worthy of the days of old Sarum, was allowed to retain his seat after his constituency had disappeared, was
accustomed to amuse his grave fellow-senators occasionally by asserting the right which each councillor possesses of addressing the council in the language of his people, -his speech, if necessity requires, being translated by an interpreter. In the case of the Tutelo chief the jest, which was duly appreciated, lay in the fact that the interpreters were dumfounded, and that the eloquence uttered in an unknown tongue had to go without reply.
From this chief, and from his aunt, an elderly dame, whose daughter was the wife of a leading Onondaga chief, I received a sufficient number of words and phrases of the language to give a good idea of its grammatical framework. Fortunately, the list of words obtained from the old Tutelo was extensive enough to afford a test of the correctness of the additional information thus procured. The vocabulary and the outlines of grammar which have been derived from these sources may, therefore, as far as they extend, be accepted as affording an authentic representation of this very interesting speech.

There is still, it should be added, some uncertainty in regard to the tribal name. So far as can be learned, the word Tutelo or Totero (which in the Troquois dialects is variously pronounced Tiūterih or Tehōtirigh, Tehūtili, Tiütei and Tūtie) has no meaning either in the Tutelo or the Iroquois language. It may have been originally a mere local designation, which has accompanied the tribe, as such names sometimes do, in its subsequent migrations. Both of my semi-Tutelo informants assured me that the proper national name-or the name by which the people were designated among themselves-was Yesáng or Yesáh, the last syllable having a faint nasal sound, which was sometimes barely audible. In this word we probably see the origin of the name, Nahyssan, applied by Lederer to the tribes of this stock. John Lederer was a German traveler who in May, 1670-a year before Captain Batt's expedition to the Allegheniesundertook, at the charge of the colonial government, an exploring journey in the same direction, though not with equal success. He made, however, some interesting discoveries. Starting from the Falls of the James river, he came, after twenty days of travel, to "sapon, a village of the Nahyssans," situate on a branch of the Roanoke river. These were, undoubtedly, the Saponas whom Captain Batt visited in the following year, the kindred and allies of the Tuteloes. Fifty miles beyond Sapon he arrived at Akenatzy, an island in the same river. "The island," hesays, "though small, maintains many inhabitants, who are fixed in great security, being naturally fortified with fastnesses of mountains and water on every side."* In these Akenatzies we undoubtedly see the Aconechos of Lawson, and the Ochineeches mentioned by Governor Spotteswood. Dr. Brinton, in his well-known work on the "Myths of the New World," has pointed out, also, theiridentity with the Occaneeches mentioned by Beverley in his "History of Virginia," and in doing so has drawn attention to

[^7]the very interesting facts recorded by Beverley respecting their language.*

According to this historian, the tribes of Virginia spoke languages differing so widely that natives "at a moderate distance" apart did not understand one another. They had, however, a "general language," which people of different tribes used in their intercourse with one another, precisely as the Indians of the north, according to La Hontan, used the "A1gonkine," and as Latin was employed in most parts of Europe, and the Lingua Franca in the Levant. These are Beverley's illustrations. He then adds the remarkable statement: "The general language here used is that of the Occaneeches, though they have been but a small nation ever since these parts were known to the English; but in what their language may differ from that of the Algonkins I am not able to determine." $\dagger$ Further on he gives us the still more surprising information that this "general language" was used by the "priests and conjurors" of the different Virginian nations in performing their religious ceremonies, in the same manner (he observes) "as the Catholics of all nations do their Mass in the Latin." $\ddagger$

The Akenatzies or Occaneeches would seem to have been, in some respects, the chief or leading community among the tribes of Dakotan stock who formerly inhabited Virginia. That these tribes had at one time a large and widespread population may be inferred from the simple fact that their language, like that of the widely scattered Algonkins (or Ojibways) in the northwest, became the general medium of communication for the people of different nationalities in their neighborhood. That they had some ceremonial observances (or, as Beverley terms them, "adorations and conjurations") of a peculiar and impressive cast, like those of the western Dakotas, seems evident from the circumstance that the intrusive tribes adopted this language, and probably with it some of these observances, in performing their own religious rites. We thus have a strong and unexpected confirmation of the tradition prevailing among the tribes both of the A.lgonkin and of the Troquois stocks, which represents them as coming originally from the far north, and gradually overspreading the country on both sides of the Alleghanies, from the Great Lakes to the mountain fastnesses of the Cherokees. They found, it would seem, Virginia, and possibly the whole country east of the Alleghenies, from the Great Lakes to South Carolina, oceupied by tribes speaking languages of the Dakotan stock. That the displacement of these tribes was a very gradual process, and that the relations between the natives and the encroaching tribes were mot always hostile, may be inferred not only from the adoption of the aboriginal speech as the gencral means of intercourse, but also from the terms of amity on which these tribes of diverse origin, native and intrusive, were found by the English to be living together.

[^8]That the Tutelo tongue represents this "general language" of which Beverley speaks-this aboriginal Latin of Virginia-cannot be doubted. It may, therefore be deemed a language of no small historical importance. The fact that this language, which was first obscurely heard of in Virginia two hundred years ago, has been brought to light in our day on a far-off Reservation in Canada, and there learned from the lips of the latest surviving member of this ancient community, must certainly be considered one of the most singular occurrences in the history of science.

Apart from the mere historical interest of the language, its scientific value in American ethnology entitles it to a careful study. As has been already said, a comparison of its grammar and vocabulary with those of the western Dakota tongues has led to the inference that the Tutelo language was the older form of this common speech. This conclusion was briefly set forth in some remarks which I had the honor of addressing to this Society at the meeting of December 19, 1879, and is recorded in the published minutes of the meeting. Some years afterwards, and after the earlier portion of this essay was written, I had the pleasure, at the meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, held in Montreal, in September, 1882, of learning from my friend, the Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, of the Smithsonian Institution, who has resided for several years as a missionary among the western Dakotas, and has made careful researches into their languages and history, that they have a distinct tradition that their ancestors formerly dwelt east of the Mississippi. In fact, the more southern Dakotas declare their tribes to be offshoots of the Winnebagoes, who till recently resided near the western shore of Lake Michigan. A comparison of their dialects, made with Mr. Dorsey's aid, fully sustains this assertion, Mere traditionary evidence, as is well known, cannot always be relied on ; but when it corresponds with conclusions previously drawn from linguistic evidence, it has a weight which renders it a valuable confirmation.

The portrait of old Nikonha, an accurate photograph, will serve to show, better than any description could do, the characteristics of race which distinguished his people. The full oval outline of face, and the large features of almost European cast, were evidently not individual or family traits, as they reappear in the Tutelo half-breeds on the Reserve, who do not claim a near relationship to Nikonha. Those who are familiar with the Dakotan physiognomy will probably discover a resemblance of type between this last representative of the Virginian Tutelos and their congeners, the Sioux and Mandans of the western plains.

## THE TUTELO LANGUAGE.

In the following outline of Tutelo grammar, it has been deemed advisable to bring its forms into comparison with those of the western languages of the same stock. For this purpose the Dakota and Hidatsa (or Minnetaree) languages were necessarily selected, being the only tongues of this family of which any complete account has yet been published.

For the information respecting these languages I am indebted to the Dakota Grammar and Dictionary of the Rev. S. R. Riggs (published in the Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge) and the Hidatsa Grammar and Dictionary of Dr. Washington Matthews (published in Dr. Shea's Library of American Linguistics), both of them excellent works, of the highest scientific value.

## The Alphabet.

The alphabetical method which has been followed by me in writing this language, as well as the Iroquois dialects, is based on the well-known system proposed by the Hon. John Pickering, and generally followed by American missionaries, whose experience has attested its value. The modifications suggested for the Indian languages by Professor Whitney and Major Powell have been adopted, with a few exceptions, which are due chiefly to a desire to employ no characters that are not found in any well-furnished printing-office.
The letters $b, d, h, k, l, m, n, p, s, t, w, y, z$ are sounded as in English, the $s$ having always its sharp sound, as in mason. The vowels are sounded generally as in Italian or German, with some modifications expressed by diacritical marks, thus:
$a$, as in father ; in accented syllables written $\bar{a}$.
$\breve{a}$, like the German $a$ in Mann.
$\ddot{a}$, like $a$ in mat.
$\hat{a}$, like $a$ in fall.
$e$, like $a$ in fate ; in accented syllables $\hat{0}$.
${ }_{e}$, like $e$ in met.
$i$, like $i$ in machine ; in accented syllables $\bar{i}$.
$\bar{i}$, like $i$ in pin.
$o$, as in note ; in accented syllables $\overline{0}$.
$\breve{b}$, like the French o in bonne.
$\grave{b}$, like $o$ in not.
$\dot{u}$, as in rule, or like oo in pool; in accented syllables $\hat{u}$.
$\breve{u}$, like $u$ in pull,
$\grave{u}$, like $u$ in but; in an accented syllable written $\hat{u}$.
$u ̈$, like the French $u$ in dur.
The diphthongs are, $a i$, like our long $i$ in pine ; au, like ou in loud; $\hat{a} i$, like o $i$ in boil; ; iu, like $u$ in pure.

The consonants requiring special notice are:
c, like sh in shine.
$g$, always hard, as in go, get, give.
$j$, like 2 in azure.
$\widetilde{n}$, like the French nasal $n$ in an, bon, un.
$q$, like the German ch in Loch, or the Spanish $j$ in joven.

The sound of the English $c h$ in chest is represented by $t_{c}$; the $j$ and $d g$ in judge by dj.

The apostrophe (') indicates a slight hiatus in the pronounciation of a word, which is often, though not always, caused by the dropping of a consonantal sound.

In general, the diacritical marks over the vowels are omitted, except in the accented syllable-that is, the syllable on which the stress of voice falls. It is understood that when a vowel (other than the $\grave{u}$ ) has a mark of any kind over it, the syllable in which it occurs is the accented or emphatic syllable of the word. Experience shows that the variations in the sound of a vowel in unaccented syllables, within the limits represented by the foregoing alphabet, are rarely of sufficient importance to require to be noted in taking down a new language. The only exception is in the sound marked $\grave{u}$, which occasionally has to be indicated in unaccented syllables, to distinguish it from the $u$, with which it has no similarity of sound. It is, in fact, more frequently a variation of the $a$ than of any other vowel sound.

Occasionally the accented syllable is indicated by an acute accent over the vowel. This method is adopted principally when the vowel has a brief or obscure sound, as in misáñi, I alone, which is pronounced in a manner midway between misâñi and misùñi.

## Phonology.

The Tutelo has the ordinary vowel sounds, but the distinction between $e$ and $i$, and between $o$ and $u$ is not always clear. The word for "mother" was at one time written henã, and at another ina; the word for "he steals" was heard as manöma and manuma. In general, however, the difference of these vowels was sufficiently apparent. The obscure sound of $\hat{u}$ (or in accented syllables $\hat{u}$ ) was often heard, but when the word in which it occurred was more distinetly uttered, this sound was frequently developed into a clearer vowel. Thus hùstōi, arm, became histö ; mùste, spring (the season), became mastë ; asîñi, white, became asã̃$i$, or (losing the nasal sound) asa $\hat{i}$, and so on. The use of the character $\grave{u}$ (or $\hat{u}$ ) in this language could probably be dispensed with.

The consonantal sounds which were heard were: $p$ (or $b$ ), $t$ (or $d$ ), $k$ (or $g$ ), $h$ (and $q$ ), $l, m, n, s, w$ and $y$, and the nasal $\tilde{n}$. Neither $f, v$, nor $r$ was heard, and $¢(s h)$ only as a variant of $s$. Harsh combinations of consonants were rare. The harshest was that of $t s k$, as in wagutska, child, and this was not frequent.* Words usually end in a vowel or a liquid. A double con-

[^9]sonant at the commencement of a word is rare. It perhaps only occurs in the combination $t_{c}\left(t_{s} h\right)$ and in contractions, as ksã̈lkai, nine, for kasäntcai.

It is doubtful if the sonants $b, d$ and $g$ occur, except as variants of the surd consonants $p, t$ and $k$; yet in certain words sonants were pretty constantly used. Thus in the pronouns ming $\bar{b} t o w e$, mine, yiñȳ̈towe, thine, iñjutowe, his, the $g$ was almost always sounded.
"The $l$ and $n$ were occasionally interchanged, as in $\bar{a} n i$ and $n \bar{a} n i$, three, letçi and netçi, tongue. In general, however, the two elements seemed to be distinct. The aspirate was somewhat stronger than the English $h$, and frequently assumed the force of the German ch or the Spanish $j$ (represented in our alphabet by $q$ ). Whether there were really two distinct sounds or not, could not be positively ascertained. The same word was written at one time with $h$, and at another with $q$.

The nasal $\tilde{n}$ is properly a modification of the preceding vowel, and would have been more adequately rendered by a mark above or below the vowel itself; but it has seemed desirable to avoid the multiplication of such diacritical marks. This nasal is not to be confounded with the sound of $n g$ in ring, which is a distinct consonantal element, and in the Polynesian dialects often commences a word. In the Tutelo this latter sound only occurs before a $k$ or hard $g$, and is then represented by $\tilde{n}$. It is, in fact, in this position, merely the French nasal sound, modified by the palatal consonant. The nasal $\tilde{n}$ is also modified by the labials $b$ and $p$, before which it assumes the sound of $m$. Thus the Tutelo word for day, nahämbi, or (in the construct form) natiamp, is properly a modification of nah $\tilde{a} \tilde{n} b i$ or nahäãp. In all words in which it occurs, the nasal sound was at times very faintly heard, and was occasionally so little audible that it was not noted, while at other times an $n$ was heard in its place. The word forknife was written at different times masĕच̃i and masāi; that for sky, matōñi, matōi, mantōi, and mañtoi; that for day, nahāmbi, nahāmp, nałīãnp, and nakīp; that for winter, wănē, wänéñi, and wanēi; that for one, n̄̄s and noñs, and so on. Whether this indistinctness of the nasal sound belongs to the language, or was a peculiarity of the individuals from whom the speech was learned, could not be satisfactorily determined.

The tendency of the language, as has been said, is to terminate every word with a vowel sound. When a monosyllable or dissyllable ends with a consonant, it is usually in a construct form, and is followed by another word grammatically related to it. Thus, hisépi, axe, hisëp miñgitowe, my axe; monti, a bear, mont nos $\bar{a}$, one bear; tçòño (or tçònki), dog, tçònk epйsel, good $\operatorname{dog} ;$ nahāmbi, day, nakāmp lāni, three days.

The following brief comparative list, extracted from the more extensive vocabulary hereafter given, will show the forms which similar words take in the allied dialects, Tutelo, Dakota (or Sioux proper) and Hidatsa (or Minnetaree) :

| Tutelo. | Dakota. | Hidatsa. |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | ate |  | father |
|  | ina | Timu, hu, ikùs | mother |
| täJutękai | takoç⿸u, tęiñkeçi | idiçi | son |
| suntka | suñlca | tsuka | younger brother |
| ih, ihi | $i$ | $i$ | mouth |
| $n e e_{\text {ççi, }}$ nêtsi, lètçi | tçeji | neji | tongue |
| iliz | hi | 8, isa, Mi | tooth |
| lōti | dote | doti, loti | throat |
| is ${ }^{\text {a }}$ | siha | itsi | foot |
| wasūt | nasu | tsuata | brain |
| wây $\bar{z}$, way $\overline{\mathrm{b}} \hat{\mathrm{i}}$ | we | idi | blood |
| atz | tipi | ati | house |
| muséñi, masầ | isañ, miñna | muetsi | knife |
| $m \bar{z}$ | wi | midi | sun (or moon) |
| nikāmpi, nikāãpi | añpetu | mape | day |
| mañ | $\operatorname{mini}$ | $\operatorname{mini}$ | water |
| $a m \bar{a} \tilde{u} i, a m \bar{a} i$ | maka | ama | land |
| tcūñki, ţ̧ongo | şunkit | maçuka | dog |
| wānéñi, wānêi | wani | mana | winter |
| ta $\tilde{n} i$ | ptañ | mata, | autumn |
| asáñi, asā̀i, aséi | sañ | atùlic, olutci | white |
| asépi | sapa | ¢ipi | black |
| s $\bar{i} i, w a \bar{a} s i$ | $2 i$ | tsi, tsidi | yellow |
| tè | ta | te | dead |
| sani | $s m i$ | tsinia | cold |
| nosäi, noñç | wountça, vantçi | nuéls, luétsa | one |
| nombäi | noñpa | nopa | two |
| näni, tãni | yamni | dámi, lawi | three |
| topai | topa | topa | four |
| Fisāhai | zaptañ | loihu | flve |
| akáspe | çalope | akama, akaroa | six |
| sägominko | çakovin | sapua | seven |
| luta | yuta, voota | duti | to eat |
| howa | $u$, uroa | Tiu | to come |
| Titci | watçi | Kidiçi | to dance |
| mahanañlca | yañca, nañka | naka | to sit, remain |
| letéwa, kitésel | kite | kitaliê | to kill |

It must be borne in mind that the sounds of $m, b$, and $w$ are interchangeable in the Hidatsa, and that $d, l, n$, and $r$ are also interchangeable. A similar confusion or interchange of these elements is to some extent apparent in the Dakota and the Tutelo languages. Taking this fact into consideration, the similarity or rather identity of such words as mi in Tutelo and woi in Dakota, meaning "sun," and loti in Tutelo, dote in Dakota, and dote or lote in Hidatsa, meaning "brain," becomes apparent.

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The nasal sounds, which are so common in the Dakota and the Tutelo, are wanting in the Hidatsa, while the $s$ of the two former languages frequently becomes $t s$ in Hidatsa. These dialectical peculiarities explain the difference between the words for younger brother, suntlka, Tu., suñlea, Da., tsuka, Hi., between isi, foot, Tu., and itsi, Hi., between maseñi, knife, Tu., and maetsi, Hi. It will be noticed that the words in Tutelo are frequently longer and fuller in sound than the corresponding words in the other languages, as though they were nearer the original forms from which the words in the various Dakota tongues were derived.

## Grammatical Forms.

As is usually the case withallied tongues, the grammatical resemblances of the languages of this stock are much more striking and instructive than those which appear in the mere comparison of isolated words.

## Substantives and Adjectives.

The Tutelo, like the Dakota and the Hidatsa, has no inflection of the substantive to indicate the plural number; but in both the Tutelo and the Dakota, the plural of adjectives is frequently expressed by what may be termed a natural inflection, nameiy, by a reduplication. In the Dakota, according to Mr. Riggs, the initial syllable is sometimes reduplicated, as ksapa, wise, pl. ksakesapa; tañka, great, pl. tañletañba; sometimes it is the last syllable, as waçté, good, pl. waçtéçte; and occasionally it is a middle syllable, as, tañkiñyañ, great, pl. tañlainkiñyañ.

Sometimes the adjective in Dakota takes the suffix pi, which makes the plural form of the verb, as waęté, good witç̧sta waç'épi, good men, i. e., they are good men.
Similar forms exist in the Tatelo. The adjective, or some part of it, is reduplicated in the plural, and at the same time a verbal suffix is frequently if not always added, thus ; ati api, good house, pl. ati apipisel, good houses (those are good houses) ; ati itáni, large house, pl. ati itañtáñsel ; ati olcayêlee, bad house, pl. atiolcayeyēlesel ; ati asán, white house, pl. ati asañsáñsel. Occasionally the reduplication takes a peculiar form, as in ati kutska, small house. pl. ati lootskutskaisel. In one instance the plural differs totally from the singular ; atisui, long house, pl. ati yumpañlatskaisel.

The plural verbal termination is frequently used without the reduplication ; as, wahtáke bi (or pi), good man, wahtáke biroa (or bise), he is a gond man ; pl. wahtâke bōhla (or bîhlése), they are good men. So tçañge bise, good dog (or, it is a good dog), pl. tcoñge bilhése.

The plural form by reduplication does not appear to exist in the Hi datsa.

The Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, who has made a special study of the western Dakota languages, finds in the Omaha (or Dhegiha) dialect a peculiar meaning given to this reduplicate plural of adjectives. The following ex-
amples will illustrate this signification. Jiñgã, small, becomes in the reduplicate form jiñjinga, which refers to small objects of different kinds or sizes. Saḡ̆, firm, fast, hard, makes säsagi or saḡ̄gi, which is employed as in the following example: vēlhihide sagäjiknan loañodha, I wish tools that are hard, and of different kinds, them only. Here the suffix linān expresses the meaning of "only;" the reduplication of the adjective gives the sense expressed by the words "of different kinds." Säbe, black, makes süsabe, black here and there. Gdhejē, spotted, becomes gdhejaja spotted in many places. Pà $\quad j \hat{i}$, bad, makes $p \bar{z} p i a j i$, as in $u c ̧ k a n ̃ ~ p i p i a j i, ~$ different bad deeds. Nüjiña (apparently a compound or derivative form, from jiñjā, small), means "boy," i. e., small man ; nūjiñjīña, boys of different sizes and ages.* It would seem from these examples that in this language the reduplication expresses primarily the idea of variety, from which that of plurality in many cases follows. This meaning is not indicated by Mr. Riggs in his Dakota grammar, and it was not detected by me in the Tutelo, but it is not impossible that it actually exists in both languages. It is deserving of notice that while no inflection of the noun is found in the Iroquois to express plurality, this meaning is indicated in the adjective by the addition of $s$, or hoñs, affixed to the adjective when it is combined with the noun. Thus from kanoñsa, house, and wz̄yo, handsome, we have konoñsīyo, handsome house, pl. kanoñsīyos, handsome houses. So kareñnaksen, bad song, pl. kareñnaksens, bad songs ; kanäkares, long pole, pl. kanakarēshoñs, long poles.
It is also remarkable that the peculiar mode of forming the plural, both of substantives and of adjectives, by reduplication of the first syllable or portion of the word, is found in several Indian languages spoken west of the Rocky Mountains, and belonging to families entirely distinct from one another, and from the Dakota. Thus in the Selish language we have र̌̀̀亻us, father, pl. lùtùíus; tána, ear, pl. tùntána; slù̀ltamiqo, man, pl. shùlhùltamiqo ; qúest, good, pl. qùsqúest. In the Sahaptin, pītin, girl, pl. pipuilin; tāhs, good, pl. titāhs. In the Kizh language, woróit, man, pl. wororō; tçinni, small, pl, tęitçinni.t This has been termed, and certainly seems, a natural mode of forming the plural. It is therefore somewhat surprising to find it restricted in America to a comparatively small group of linguistic families. It is still more noteworthy that in the Polynesian dialects, which in their general characteristics differ so widely from the Indian languages, this same method of forming the plural is found, but confined, as in the Dakota tongues, to the adjective ; thus we have laar tele, large tree, pl. lacu tetele, large trees; taata maitai, good man, pl. taata maitatai, good men ; mahaki, sick, pl. mahamahaki, sick (persons). $\ddagger$ This is a subject in linguistic science which merits further investigatiqn.

[^10]
## Numerals.

The near resemblance of the first seven numerals in the Tutelo, Dakota, and Hidatsa is sufficiently shown in the vocabulary. The manner in which the compound numbers are formed is also similar in the three languages. In the Dakota ake, again, is prefixed to the simple numerals to form the numbers above ten, as ake wañjidañ, eleven; ake noñpa, twelve. In the Tutelo the same word (usually softened to age) is used, as agenōsai, eleven; ugenombai, twelve. In the Hidatsa aqpi (or ahpi), signifying a part or division, is employed, as aqpi-duttsa, eleven; aqpi-dopa, twelve.

In Dakota, wiktçemna, ten, and nō̃pa, two, form wiktçomna noñpa, twenty. In Tutelo the form is the same; putçea nomba, tens-two. In Hidatsa it is similar, but the position of the words is reversed, twenty being dopá-pitika, two tens.

The ordinal numbers, after the first, are formed in all three languages by prefixing $i$ or ei to the cardinal numbers, as in Dakota, inoña, second ; iyamni, third ; itopa, fourth. In Hidatsa, idopa, second; idani, third; itopa, fourth. In Tutelo I received einombai, twice; eināni, thrice; eintōpai, four times. This rendering was given by the interpreter, but the true meaning was probably thesame as in the Dakota and Hidatsa. The word for "first" is peculiar in all three languages; in Dakota, tokaleya, in Hidatsa, itsilca, in Tutelo, etähni.

In the Tutelo the numerals appear to have different forms; or perhaps, more accurately speaking, different terminations, according to the context in which they are used. The following are examples of these forms, the first or abridged form being apparently used in ordinary counting, and the others when the numerals are employed in conjunction with other words. The various pronunciations of my different informants-and sometimes of the same informant at different times-are also shown in these examples.

|  | Separate. | Construct. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | $n \bar{o} \tilde{\sim} s, n \bar{o} s$ | nosāi, noñsāi |
| 2 | nomp | nombāi |
| 3 | lāt, nān | nāni |
| 4 | top | top $\bar{a} i$ |
| 5 | kisē, kisáñ. | Nisähai |
| 6 | agās or akás, akāsp | akíspē |
| 7 | sāgóm | sagomëi |
| 8 | pâlán | palāni |
| 9 | $s \bar{a}$ or säñ, ksañk | ksāhkar |
| 10 | putçk, lū́ç̧le' | putskai |
| 11 | ăyenosui |  |

Variations. $\{$ noséñ, nuseñ, noñsai,noñsa, nōsäñ, nōsāh, noñsah numbāi, nomba, nümba, noñmbai, noñpa, nōmbäh, nombaq
lāni, länik, lāniq
toba, topah
kisā̄háñi
akaspé, akäspei, agespeq
sagōmı, sāgömiq, sagomiñk palāniq
kasankai, ksákesi
butçkai, putskáñi, putskīã
aginosai, akinosai

Separate.
agenomba agelani agetoba agegäsai agegäspe agesagāmi agepatāni agekesañlea putsiza nomba, ? putçlea nombai\}
putslea name putska tobai uken̄̄ nōsā ukenz putscai

Construct Forms and Variations. aginombai, akinombai agilāli, akilāni
akitopa
akikisähuai
akilcaspei
akisagomei
akipalati
akikasañkai
putsta nombai
putçlea lani
oken

The numeral follows the noun which it qualifies. If the noun termimates in a vowel not accented, the vowel is usually dropped, while the numeral assumes its constuctor or lengthened form, and is sometimes closed with a strong aspirate. Thus, from miháni, woman, we have mihañ nos $\bar{a}$ or mihañ noñsāi, one woman; mihañ nombaq, two women; mihañ laniq, three women, \&c. From tçoñgo or tçoñki, dog, tcoñtc nosīh, one dog; tcoñle nombaq, two dogs. From monti, bear, mont nösäh, one bear; mont nombah, two bears. From nahambi, day, nahámp nosäh, one day, nahamp nombai, two days; nathamp lēniq, three days, \&c. It will be seen that the dropping of the final vowel of the noun has the effect of giving a sharper sound to the preceding consonant. When the final vowel is accented, no change takes place in the noun ; thus $a t \bar{\imath}$, house; ati$n o \tilde{n} s a i$, one house; $a t \bar{\imath}$ noñbai, two houses; at $\bar{z}$ laniq, three houses, \&c.

No such difference between the simple and the construct forms of the numerals appears to exist either in the Dakota or in the Hidatsa. This is one evidence, among others, of the greater wealth of inflections which characterizes the Tutelo language.

## Pronouns.

There are in the Tutelo, as in the Dakota, two classes of pronouns, the separate pronouns, and the affixed or incorporated pronouns. The former, however, are rarely used, except for the purpose of emphasis. In the Dakota the separate pronouns are miye or miç. I, niye, or niç, thou or ye, iye, or $i c$, he or they, and uñige or uñeie, we. In the Tutelo, mām signifies I or we, $y \overline{2} m$, thou or ye, $i m$, he or they, which was sometimes lengthened to imahese. A still more emphatic form is made with the termination sái or säñi, giving the sense of "alone," or rather perhaps
"self," for which meaning the Dakota employs the separate pronouns already given, while the Hidatsa has a special form ; thus :

| Tutelo. misāi or misáñi | Dakota. miye (miç) | Millatsa. miqtii | I myself(or I alone) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $y i s a \bar{i}$, or yesañ $i$ | niyje (niç) | niqki | thou |
| esāi, isāior $i s a ́ n ̃ t$ | iye (ic) | iqki | he |
| maesāior maesáñi | uñkige (uñkiç) | midoki | we |

The Dakota unkige is said to be properly a dual form. The Tutclo apparently, like the Hidatsa, has no dual.

The affixed or incorporated pronouns have in the Tutelo, as in the Dakota and Hidatsa, two forms, nominative and objective. These forms in the three languages are very similar :
Tutelo. Dukota. Hidatsa.

Nominative.


The objective forms are also used in all these languages as possessive pronouns, and theyare affixed as nominatives to nenter or adjective verbs, in the first and second persons. The third personal pronoun is not expressed in the verb, at least in the singular number. In the plural the Tutelo indicates this pronoun by an inflection, both in the nominative and the objective. Thus hahēoa, he says, hahéhla, they say ; minëroa, I see him, minéhla, I see them.

The Hidatsa makes no distinction between the singular and the plural of the possessive pronouns. Mi signifies both my and our, $d i$, they and your, and $i$, his and their. The Dakota distinguishes the plural by adding the particle $p i$ to the noun. The Tutelo adds pui to the noun in the second person, and sometimes lei or leai to the third. With nouns signifying relationship, the Dakota indicates the possessive pronoun of the third person by adding ku to the noun. The Tutelo sometimes adds lea or loai not only in this person, but in the firstrand third persons, as shown in the following example:

Dakota.<br>suñka<br>misuñka<br>yisuñka<br>suñkaku<br>uñkisuñleapi<br>nisuñkapi<br>suñkapi

Tutelo.
suintla
wisûntk
yisúntk
esúntla or esúntkai
maisúntlai
yisúntlcapui
eisúntkai

|  | younger brother |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| my | " | " |
| thy | " | " |
| his | " | " |
| our | " | " |
| your |  |  |

In the Tutelo an $e$ is sometimes prefixed to the possessive pronouns, as in ati, house, which makes

| exâti | my house | emānti | our house |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| eyāti | thy " | cyātipūi | your |
| cati ${ }^{\text {a }}$ | his " | càti-lei | their " |

In this case the final vowel of the pronouns $w i$ and $y i$ is elided before the initial $a$ of the noun. So in minēeoc, I see him, the vowel of the prefixed pronoun ma, I , is elided before the vowel of the verb ine wa, to see. Some other euphonic changes of the possessive pronoun in the Tutelo are shown in the following example:
Dakota.
pa
mapa
nipa
pa
uйpapi
nipapi
papi

Tutelo. pasüi, head mimpasii, my head yiथ̃pasüi, еразйi. етайlopasūi, еуiñkpasūpui epasüi-lei
head
my head
thy "
his 6
our heads
your "
their "

In Tutelo, tât', my father, is an anomalous form, used instead of màt', or emät'. With the other affixes the word becomes yäd' (or 'täat $t$ ), thy father, eāt', his father (or their father), emaät', our father, eyätpui, your father.

A good example of the use of the prefixed personal pronouns in the Tu telo is shown in the word for son. There were slight differences in the forms received from two of my informants, as here given :

| witélca | witékai | my son |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| yitēlea | yitéleai | thy son |
| etélca | etélar | his son |
| mañktéka | emañllékai | our son |
| yitélcabūi | yitéleabüi | your son |
| etélca | etekahlēi | their son |

Minēk', my uncle (in Dakota midekęi) is thus varied: Finēk', thy uncle (Dak, nidekçí), einèk', his uncle (Dak. deçitluu), emainek, our uncle, einēkpui, your uncle, einel, or emels'-lei, their uncle.

In the word for brother, inginumbāi (or iñlinumbāi), the possessive pronouns are inserted after the first syllable, and in this instance they are used in the nominative form :

| iñoaginumbāi | my brother | maïinginumbāi | our brother |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| inyagnumbāi | thybrother | iñyaginumbabui | your brother |
| ingiginumbāi | his brother | ingiginumbāi | their brother |

The Dakota and Hidatsa have lengthened forms of the personal pronouns to indicate property in things, or "transferable possession." These are in the former, mita, my, nita, thy, and ta, his, as mita-oñspe, my axe, nita-çuñke, thy dog. These pronouns are also used with koda, friend, and kitçuna, comrade. In Hidatsa mata, dita (for nita), and ita, are used in a similar manner. In the Tutelo the pronouns of this form occurred in a
few examples, but only with certain words of personal connection or relations, in which their use seems to resemble that of the Dakota pronouns with the words meaning "comrade" and "friend." Thus we heard witämañlit, my husband, yitāmañki, thy husband, etämañki, her husband. So witāmike $\tilde{n}$, my wife (i. e, my woman), yitāmikeñ, thy wife; and witagūtçtāi, my son, $i$. e. "my boy," from wagūtçkaid, boy (evidently the same word as the Dakota koçlea, young man). In the latter example witagũtçkā, apparently expresses a lower bond or sense of relationship than witélai,-not "my child," but "my boy," or "my youth," who may leave me and go elsewhere at any time.

In Tutelo the pronouns indicating property or "transferable possession" were commonly found in a separate and apparently compound form, following the noun, which was then sometimes (though not always) heard in the shortened or "construct" form. Thus with hisēpi, axe, we have :

|  | (or milistowi) my axe | hisēp' mahgūtnoz | our axe |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| hisepp' yiñātowi | thy axe | خisēp' iñḡ̆tombūi | your axe |
| 7isēp' gàtowi | his axe | hisēp' gitolınēi | their axe |

So sās, bed, has sās miñgàtowi, my bed, sas yingätowi, thy bed, sas gātowi, his bed.

With tçoñgo, dog, we find a different form :

| tçoñgo vahkimpi | my dog tçongo maokimpi (or mahkimpi) | our dog |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| tçoñgo yahkimpi | thy dog | tȩongo yahkimpüi | your dog |
| tçoñgo eohkimpi | his dog | tçoñgo kimpena | their dog |

The first of these forms, migātori, \&c., is evidently the same that appears in the Dakota mitawa, mine, witawa, thine, tawa, his, uñlitawa, ours, The Hidatsu has similar forms, matamae, ditamae, and itamae, often pronounced mataroae, nitawae, and itaroae. Dr. Matthews regards them as compounds formed by prefixing the pronouns mata, dita (nita) and ita to the noun mae (or wae) signifying personal, property, which seems a very probable explanation.

The form wahliampi may be similarly explained. In Dakota kipá signifies, to keep for me, and kip $\hat{z}$, to hold or contain. The sense of property or possession is apparently implied, and tecongo vahlkimpi in Tutelo probably means "the dog my property," or "the dog I have."

The possessive pronouns are used by themselves in Tutelo in the following affirmative and negative forms :

```
mimig\overline{\imathे}
yi\tilde{ngătowi (yingätowe, yĩnkütowi)}
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maqgitoni (or mahgütowe, or mahlicitowi)
yingitombüi (or yiñ'itombui)
gitoñnësel (or kitoñnesel)
```

mine, or, it is mine thine, or, it is thine his, or, it is his ours, or, it is ours yours, or, it is yours theirs, or it is theirs

Negative Form.

|  | Kimigūtonañ (kimiliztonañ) |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | Kiñyigz̄tonañ |
|  | kigz̈tonañ |
|  | kinaqgitonañ |
|  | Kiñuigı̈tombōnañ |
|  | Kigātoqnēnañ |

it is not mine
it is not thine it is not his it is not ours it is not yours it is not theirs

The proper form of the first personal affirmative is doubtless miy ${ }^{\text {b }}$ tovi (or mikītowe). In mimigätowi the first syllable is evidently from the separate pronoun $m \bar{z} m$, I, used for emphasis. In the Dakota the forms mige mitawa, me, mine, niye nitawa, thee, thine, \&c., are used for the same purpose.

The negative form is not found in either the Dakota or the Hidatsa, and may be regarded as another instance of the greater wealth of inflections possessed by the Tutelo.

The following are the interrogative demonstrative and indefinite pronouns in the Tutelo, so far as they were ascertained. The Dakota and Hidatsa are added for comparison :

| Tutelo. ètou $\tilde{a}$, or hetōa | Dakota. turee | Hillatsa. tape | who? |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| akeñ, kaka | talue | tapa | what? |
| ètuた | tukte | to ; tua | which? |
| t)kēnùn | tonu; tonaka | tuami | how many? |
| teroakv̀runaca | turvetava | tapeitamre | Whose (is it) ? |
| nēke, or nēikin ; heiki | de | Tidi ; kini | this |
| yић就; 7iēroa; enä | 7he; lea | hido ; hino | that |
| ohōn, or okō | ota | ahu | many |
|  | ovasiñ ; iyuqpa | etsa; qukaheta | all |

The general resemblance of most of these forms is apparent. In the Tu telo for "whose?" which might have been written tewng ${ }^{2}$ 'ùmoa, we see the affix of the possessive pronoun (gabtowe) inflectedto make an interrogative form. The Dakota and Hidatsa use the affix (tawa and tamae) without the inflection.

## The Verb.

There are two very striking peculiarities in which the Dakota and Hidatsa dialects differ from most, if not all, Indian languages of other stocks. These are: firstly, the manner in which the personal pronoun is incorporated with the verb; and, secondly, the extreme paucity or almost total absence of inflections of mood and tense. In the first of these peculiarities the Tutelo resembles its western congeners; in the second it differs from them in a marked degree-more widely even than the Latin verb differs from the English. These two characteristics require to be separately noted.

In most Indian languages the personal pronouns, both of the subject and of the object, are in some measure either united with the verb or in-

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dicated by an inflection. The peculiarity which distinguishes the languages of the Dakotan stock is found in the variable position of these incorporated pronouns. They may be placed at the beginning, at the end, or between any two syllables of the verb. The position of the pronoun is not, however, arbitrary and dependent on the pleasure of the speaker. It appears to be fixed for each verb, according to certain rules. These rules, however, seem not yet to have heen fully determined, and thus it happens that a Dakota dictionary must give the place of the pronoun in every verb, precisely as a Latin dictionary must give the perfect tense of every verb of the third conjugation. Thus, for example, in the Dakota proper, kaçloa, to bind (or rather "he binds"), makes walíçça, I bind, yakakęa, thou bindest; manoñ, he steals, makes mowánoñ, Isteal, mayánoñ, thou stealest: and etçiñ, he thinks, makes etçáñmi, I think, etçañ̃i, thou thinkest, the suffixed pronouns receiving a peculiar form. In the Hidatsa, kidĕç $i$, he loves, makes malideĕçi, I love, dakidĕçi, thou lovest; eke, he knows, becomes emake, I know, and edake, thou knowest; and kitsahike, he makes good, becomes kitsahikema, I make good, and Fitsahikeda, thou makest good. The Tutelo has the pronouns sometimes prefixed, and sometimes inserted ; no instances have been found in which they are suflixed, but it is by no means improbable that such cases may occur, as verbs of this class are not common in either of the former languages, and our examples of conjugated verbs in Tutelo are not very numerous. Among them are the following :

1. Verbs with prefixed pronouns:
lakpése, he drinks
yalakipése, thou drinkest
walakpése, I drink
Tiantliapéwa, he sleeps
yahiantliapēıa, thou sleepest
wakianthapē $\omega a$, I sleep
texoa, he is dead
yitēwa, thou art dead
witēwa, I am dead
2. The verbs in which the pronouns are inserted seem to be the most numerous class. The following are examples:
> hałëroa, he says
> hayikèwa, thou sayest
> hawahēwa, I say
> malianáñlia, he sits down
> mahryináñka, thou sittest down
> mahamináñlea, I sit down
> inkisëha, he laughs
> iñyaksēha, thou laughest
> in waksēha, I laugh
> oháta, he sees
> oyahála, thou seest
> owahála, I see

The pronouns may be thus inserted in a noun, used with a verbal sense. Thus wahlâda or waltalkai, man or Indian, may be conjugated:

voalutakiki, he is an Indian<br>wayilutākai, thou art an Indian<br>vamilitākai, I am an Indian

It is remarkable, however, that the pronoun of the first person plural is usually (though not always) prefixed. Thus from mahanánka, he sits down, we have (as above) mahaminañka, I sit down, and mañkmahanánla, we sit down. So, maiñksēha (or sometimes waiñkisèh(c), we laugh, and maohata, we see. On the other hand, we find hamankhowoa, we say, from haheroa, he says, making (as above) huwaheroo. I say.

The word manoñ. he steals, has in Dakota the pronouns inserted, as is shown in the examples previously given. The similar word in Tutelo, manoma or manūma, has them prefixed, as yimanoma, thou stealest, mamanama, I steal. But on one occasion this word was given in a different form, as manundãni, he steals; and in this example the pronouns were inserted, the form of the first personal pronoun, and of the verb itself in that person, being at the same time varied, as mayinundã̃i, thou stealest, maminundame, I stenl. In Dakota the place of the pronoun is similarly varied by a change in the form of the verb. Thus baksci, to cut off with a knife, makes brawal/sa, I cut off' (with the pronoun inserted), while leaksá, to cut off with an axe, makes waláksa, I cut off (with the pronoun prefixed), and so in other like instances.

The other peculiarity of the Dakota and Hidatsa languages, which has been referred to, viz., the paucity, or rather absence, of all changes of mood and tense which can properly be called inflections, is in striking contrast with the abundance of these changes which mark the Tutelo verb. The difference is important, especially as indicating that the Tutelo is the older form of speech. It is an established law in the science of linguistics that, in any family of languages, those which are of the oldest formation, or, in other words, which approach nearest to the mother speech, are the most highly inflected. The derivative or more recent tongues are distinguished by the comparative fewness of the grammatical changes in the vocables. The difference in this respect between the Tutelo and the western branches of this stock is so great that they seem to belong to different categories or genera in the classification of languages. The Tutelo may properly be styled an inflected language, while the Dakota, the Hidatsa, and apparently all the other western dialects of the stock, must be classed among agglutinated languages, the variations of person, number, mood and tense being denoted by affixed or inserted particles.

Thus in the Hidatsa there is no difference, in the present tense, between the singular and the plural of a verb. Kidĕçi signifies both "he loves" and "they love ;" makidereci, "I love," and "we love." In the future a distinction is made in the first and second persons. Dakidĕcidi signifies
"thou wilt love," of which dakidĕcidiha is the plural, "ye will love." In this language there is no mark of any kind, even by affixed particles, to distinguish the present tense from the past, nor even, in the third person, to distinguish the future from the other tenses. Kidëçi signifies he loves, he loved, and he will love. The Dakota is a little better furnished in this way. The plural is distinguished from the singular by the addition of the particle $p i$, and in the first person by prefixing the pronoun $u \tilde{n}$, they, in lieu of wa or we, f. Thus kaçká, he binds, becomes kaçkápi, they bind. Wakaçka, I hind, becomes uñkaçkapi, we bind. No distinction is made between the present and the past tense. Kaçlá is both he binds and he bound. The particle lita, which is not printed and apparently not pronounced as an affix, indicates the future. It sometimes produces a slight euphonic change in the final vowel of the verb. Thus láçke litra, he will hind, kaçlápi lita, they will bind. All other distinctions of number and tense are indicated in these two languages by adverbs, or by the general context of the sentence.

In lieu of these scant and imperfect modes of expression, the Tutelo gives us a surprising wealth of verbal forms. The distinction of singular and plural is clearly shown in all the persons, thus:

| opēoa, he goes | opehéhla, they go |
| :--- | :--- |
| oyapëıa, thou goest | oyapepūa, ye go |
| owapèroa, I go | maopēıoa, we go |

Of tenses there are many forms. The termination in evoa appears to be of an aorist, or rather of an indefinite sense. Opēoa (from opa, to go) may signify both he goes and he went. A distinctive present is indicated by the termination ōma; a distinctive past by ōca; and a future by ta or ēta. Thus from kite, to kill, we have walctèoa, I kill him, or killed him, wakteōma; I am killing him, and waktēta, I will kill him. So ohäta, he sees it, becomes oliatiolea, he saw it formerly, and ohatēta, he will see it. Opewa, he goes (or went), becomes opēta, he will go, inflected as follows:

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { opēta, he will go } & \text { opehéhla, they will go } \\
\text { oyapēta, thou wilt go } & \text { oyapétepa, ye will go } \\
\text { owapèta, I will go } & \text { maopéta, we will go }
\end{array}
$$

The inflections for person and number in the distinctively present tense, ending in oma, are shown in the following example:
> waginōma, he is sick
> wayiñ ginomn, thou art sick wromeginōma, I am sick

Ohätra, he sees it, is thus varied:

```
ohata, he sees it
oyahatr, thou seest it
owahata, I see it
```

oluntéha, they see it oyahathua, ye see it. maohata, we see it
wrginóntha, they are sick wayiñ jinómpo, ye are sick mañ juaginōma, we are sick
ohatioka, he saw it oyahatioloa, thou sawest it vooakatiōka, I saw it ohatēta, he will see it oyahatēta, thou wilt see it owahatēta, I shall see it
ohatiokehla, they saw it oyahatiokewa, ye saw it maoluatioka, we saw it ohatetéhla, they will see it oyahātetlūa, ye will see it maohiā:ēta, we shall see it

The following examples will show the variations of person in the aorist tense :

| hahêlod, he says | hatiélıla, they say |
| :---: | :---: |
| hayiliewa, thou sayest | hayilièpua, ye say |
| hawahèwa, I say | hamañkliewa, we say |
| hīhninderow, he is hungry | hīlonindese, they are hungry |
| yihī̀mindewa, thou art hungry |  |
| mikühnindèwa, I hungry | makliknindeloa, we are hungry. |

Wako $n s p \bar{\varepsilon} w a$, I remember it, an aorist form, becomes in the preterite wakoñspeōia, and, in the future, wakoñspeta. It is thus varied in the torist and past tenses :
wakuñspēwa, I remember it yakoñspëwa, thou rememberest it kikonsperoa, he remembers it
wakoñspeöka, I remembered it yakuñspeōka, thou rememberedst it kikoñspeoka, he remembered it
makikoñspēıo, we remember it yałounspepúa, ye remember it kikoñspē̈ēla, they remember it
makikoñspeōka, we remembered it yakoñspepuyolca, ye remembered it kilcoñspeleölca, they remembered it

In several instances verbs were heard only in the inflected forms. For the simple or root-form, which doubtless exists in the language, we are obliged to have recourse to the better known Dakota language. Thus operoa, he went, and opeta, he will go, indicate a root opa, he goes, which is actually found in the Dakota.

So manōma (which is probably a distinctively present tense), and manondañi, both meaning he steals, indicate a briefer root-form which we find in the Dakota manon, having the same meaning. Manoma, which is probably a contraction of manoñoma, is thus varied :
manōma, he steals yımanōma, thou stealest mamanōma, I steal
manoñese, they steal
yimanompūa, ye steal
mañkmanöma, we stcal

From these examples it is evident that there are variations of inflection, which, if the language were better understood, might probably be class:fied in distinct conjugations. Other instances of these variations will be given hereafter.

It is well known that in the Iroquois, Algonquin, Cherokee, and other Indian languages, of different stocks, there are many forms of the verb, nega-
tive, interrogative, desiderative, and the like, which are among the most notable characteristics of these languages, and add much to their power of expression. The Tutelo has several of these forms, but none of them are found in the Dakota or Hidatsa, both of which express the meaning of these forms by adverbial phrases or other circumlocutions. The negative form in Tutelo is made (in a manner which reminds us of the French nepas) by prefixing $k$ or $k i$ to the affirmative and suffixing na. The tense terminations oma, ovoa, and evoa, become ona and ena in this form :

| inksèha, he laughs | kinksélına, he does not laugh |
| :---: | :---: |
| iñoaksēha, I laugh | kiñoahsehna, I do not laugh |
| wameginōma, I am sick | kinoameginōna, I am not sick |
| roaktēıo, I killed him | livolktëna, I did not kill him |
| ovaklāka, I speak | konakklàkna, I do not speak |
| wakteöma, I am killing him | kivoakteōna, I am not killing him |
| yahowa, he is coming | kiahôna, he is not coming |

Kiñesélna, he is not laughing, is thus varied in the present tense :

Kiñloséhna, he is not laughing'
Kiñyakséhna, thou art not laughing
Kiñoukéhéha, I am not laughing
kiñesehanēna, they are not laughing kiñyakséhpuna, ye are not laughing kimaeñtséhna, we are not laughing

The interrogative form terminates in 0 , as :
yaktêoa, thou killedst him yakteoma, thou art killing him yatêta, thou wilt kill him yat̄ooa, thou dwellest atewa, he is going
yaktēroo, didst thou kill him? yakteoñmo, art thou kiling him? yaktēto, wilt thou kill him? toka yatioo, where dost thou dwell? toka alewo, where is he going?

It is evident that this form is an inflection, pure and simple. It is a vowel change, and not in any manner an agglutinated particle. It takes the place of that elevation of tone with which we conclude an interrogative sentence, and which, strange to say, is not heard among the Dakotas. Mr. Riggs remarks that "unlike the English, the voice falls at the close of all iuterrogative sentences."

The desiderative form appears to be expressed by the affixed particle $b i$ or be, but the examples which were obtained happened to be all in the negative, thus :

orapēioa, I go<br>opetēse, he is going, or will go<br>havoileroa, I come<br>vakteroa, I kill him

> kowoupēbina, I do not wish to go kopëbenäse, he does not wish to go kivilëbina, I do not wish to come kinoaklēbina, I do not wish to kill him

The imperative mood is distinguished apparently by a sharp accent on the final syllable of the verb, which loses the sign of tense. Thus from the $\tilde{n} \jmath \bar{o}$, to give (in Dakota and Hidatsa, ku), which appears in maingōwa, I
give to you, we have, in the imperative, masā mingó, give me a knife. Fitiése or litesel, he kills him, gives kité tçoñlí, or tçoñle' litté, kill the dog.

In the western languages of the Dakota stock, certain particles prefixed to the verb play an important part in modifying the meaning. Thus in Dakota and Hidatsa the prefix pa signifies that the action is done with the hand. From ksa, Dak., meaning separate, we have paksá, to break with the hand; from qu, Hid., to spill, paqu, to pour out with the hand. The Dakota na, Hidatsa ada (for ana) are prefixes showing that the action is done with the font. The Dakota $y a$, Hidatsa da (often pronounced ra or la) show that the act is done with the mouth. Ka (Dak.) and dăk (Hid.) indicate an act done by a sudden, forcible impulse, \&c. Attempts were made to ascertain whether similar prefixes were employed in the Tutelo speech. It was found that in many cases the latter had distinct words to express acts which in the western languages were indicated by these compound forms. Still, a sufficient number of examples were obtained to show that the use of modifying prefixes was not unknown to the language. Thus the root kusa, which evidently corresponds with the Dakota ksa, signifying separation, occurs in the following forms:
> nanth $\bar{u} s i s e l$, he breaks it off with the foot
> latkūsisel, he bites it off
> tikuisisel, he breaks it off by pushing
> lakathüsisel, he cuts it off with an axe

The Dakota $n a$, signifying action with the foot, is evidently found, with some modification, in the Tutelo nantkusisel above quoted, and also in nañkökisek, to stamp with the foot, and in konaqlotisel, to scratch with the foot. So the cutting, pushing, or impulsive prefix, lak or laka, which appears in lakathüsisel, is found also in lakathūsisel, he cuts open, lakcaspēta, to cut off in pieces, lakasāse, to chop, lakapleh, to sweep the floor. La, which in latkūsisel indicates action with the mouth, is found also in lakpese, to drink, and perhaps in yilanäha, to count or read, which has the corresponding prefix $y a$ in the Dakota word $y \bar{a}: o a$, of like meaning

The affixed or incorporated pronouns are used with transitive verbs to form what are called by the Spanish writers on Indian grammar transitions, that is, to express the passage of the action from the agent or subject to the object. This usage is governed by very simple rules. In the Dakota and Hidatsa the rule prevails, that when two affixed pronouns come together, the one being in the nominative case and the other in the objective, the objective always precedes the nominative, as in mayakoçia (Dak.) me-thou-bindest, dimakideci (Hid.) thee-I-love. In the Dakota the third personal pronoun is in general not expressed ; kaçcá signifies both he binds, and he binds him, her, or it ; wakáçka is I bind, and I bind him, \&c. In the Hidatsa, this pronoun is not expressed in the nominative, but in the objective it is indicated by the pronoun $i$ prefixed to the verb, as Vidĕç, he loves ; ikideçi, he loves him, her or it.

The Tutelo, as far as could be ascertained, follows the usage of the Dakota
in regard to the third personal pronoun (which is not expressed) but differs from both the other languages, at least in some instances, in the order of the pronouns. The nominative affix occasionally precedes the objective, as in mayineroa, I-thee-see. Yet in hohinañ'?wiyaheroa, me-thou-struckest (where the pronouns are inserted), this order is reversed. The rule on which these variations depend was not ascertained. Owing to the difficulties of an inquiry carried on through the medium of a double translation (from English into Cayuga or Onondaga, and from the latter into Tutelo), it was not easy to gain a clear idea of the precise meaning of many of the examples which were obtained. An Indian when asked to translate " I love thee," or "thou lovest me," unless he is an educated man, or perfectly familiar with the language in which he is addressed, is apt to become perplexed, and to reverse the meaning of the pronouns. The following examples, however, will suffice to show that the system of transitions exists in the Tutelo, though they do not enable us to analyze and reconstruct it completely. Many other examples were obtained, but are omitted from a doubt of their correctness.

## wakteōma, I am killing him

vaikteōma (for wayiliteōma) I am killing thee
militeöma he is killing me yakteōma, thou art killing him Fitteónsel, he is killing them.
ineloa, he sees him (or he saw him). minēıa, I see him (qu. m'inēwa, for ma-inēıa) mayinēoa, I see thee mïneroa, he sees me yïnēroa, he sees thee miinêlla, they see me
yandosterka, he loves him yandomistêtca, he loves me yandoyistetca, he loves thee yandowasteka, I love him yandoyastelea, thou lovest him yandoyistêlea, he loves thee mankiandostēla (qu. maikiandoyistêka), we love thee maihiandostekanëse, we love them waiyandostēlea, he loves us waiyandoyastēlia, thou loved us yandostekanese, he loves them (or they love him) yandomistēlana, they love me

Rolinañh̄wa, he struck (or strikes) him
kohinañkyitizwa, he struck thee
koluinañmiliz̄oa, he struck me
> kohinañoaれz̄ъoa, I struck him kohinañyakīゅa, thou struckest him kohinañlowiyak̄̄̄o, thou struckest me kohinañmañkīižoa, we struck him
> gikōha (or lcikôha), he calls to him wigikōha, I call to him waingikōha, (for wayingikōha), I call to thee inglkokizse (for yingikohäse), he calls to thee injilcopotēse, he calls to you miñjikoha, he calls to ma yigilioha, thou callest to him ingikopūn, they call to you gikohanesse, they call to them.

From the foregoing examples it is evident that the system of transitions in the Tutelo is as complete as in the Dakota and Hidatsa. But there are apparently some peculiar euphonic changes, and some of the pronouns are indicated by terminal inflections, particularly in the second person plural and in the third person singular and plural.

In the Tutelo, as in the Dakota and Hidatsa, substantives and adjectives are readily converted into neuter verbs by the addition or insertion of the pronouns and the verbal suffixes. It is in this manner that these languages, like other Indian tongues, are generally enabled to dispense with the use of the substantive verb. Thus in the Dakota wilçreçla, man, by inserting the pronoun ma, I, becomes wimatçrçta or witçamaçta, I am a man, and by inserting $u \tilde{n}$ (we) and adding the plural affix pi, becomes wiuñ'çaçtapi, we are men. So also woçte, good, becomes mawaçte, I am good, uñocçtepi, we are good.

In the Tutelo the word wahtāka, or roahtakkai, man, is inflected as follows :
wamiltākedi. I am a man.
wayihtālcai, thou art a man.
valld $\bar{a} k a i$, he is a man.
mivamihtăkai, we are men. iñoatuātai, ye are men. $h \bar{u} / c w a h t \vec{a} k a i$, they are men.

The last two forms appear not to be regular, and may have been givert by mistake. Hūkroututäkai probably means "all are men."

This verb may take the aorist form, as :
wamihtakāəoa, I am (or was) a man.
wayihtakāıo, thou art (or wast) a man.
wahtatioua, he is (or was) a man, \&c.
So the adjective $b \overline{\mathbf{z}}$, good, becomes, with the aorist affix $w a$, $b \bar{b} w a$, he is (or was) good; yimbūbo, thou art good; mimb $\bar{b} i o a$, I am good. In the proc. amer. philos. soc. xxi. 114. e. printed may 8, 1883.
present tense we have ebīse, he is good; ebilesse, they are good; and in the preterit, ebikōa, he was good.

## Adverls.

In many cases, as has been already shown, the English adverb is indicated in the Tutelo by a modification of the verb. The negative adverb, for example, is usually expressed in this manner, as in $\tilde{m} k s e h a$, he is laughing, loinleselona, he is not laughing ; migūtove, it is mine, limigütonañ, it is not mine.

Sometimes the meaning which in English would be expressed by an adverb accompanying a verb, is expressed in Tutelo by two verbs. Thus we have ihōha, she is sewing, apparently from a root $i h \bar{\partial}$ or yehō, to sew ; and koñspèwo yehō, she is sewing well, i. e., she is careful in sewing (lit., she thinks, or remembers, in sewing) ; kebīna yehŏ, she is sewing badly, i. e. she does not well in sewing (or is not good at sewing). Here kebīna is the negative form of biwa, he (or she) is good.

## Prepositions.

Many plarases were obtained with a view of ascertaining the prepositions of the Tutelo, but without success. Sometimes an expression which in English requires a preposition would in the Tutelo appear as a distinct word. Thus, while ati signifies a house, toleai was given as equivalent to "in the house." It may perhaps simply mean "at home." Prairie is latāhkoi, but on $\bar{i} i$ signifies "at the prairie."

Other examples would seem to show that the prepositions in the Tutelo, as in the Hidatsa, and to a large extent in the Dakota, are incorporated with the verb. Thus tāh\%ai signifies "woods," and tähFai aginese, he is in the woods. So $s \bar{u} i$, hill, and su $\bar{u} i$ aginesse, he is on the hill. The phrase "I am going to the house" was rendered witēta iatz, and the phrase "I am coming from the house," by waklēta iat̄̄. The practice of combining the preposition with the verb is very common in the Indian languages, which merely carry to a greater extent a familiar usage of the Aryan speech. The expressions, to ascond or descend a hill, to circumnavigate a lake, to overhang a fence, to undermine a wall, are examples of an idiom so prevalent in the Indian tongues as to supersede not merely the cases of nouns, but to a large extent the separable prepositions.

## Conjunctions.

In the Tutelo, conjunctions appear to be less frequently used than in English. An elliptical form of speech is employed, but with no loss of clearness. The phrase "when I came, he was asleep," is expressed briefly wihinok, hiañka, I came, he was asleep. So, "I called the dog, but he did not come," becomes wagetākiok tçoñk, Teihūna, I called the dog, he came not. When it is considered necessary or proper, however, the conjunction is expressed, as kuminēna, mi Jān hinēka, I did not see him, but John saw him. Here "but" is expressed by $m i$.

Nigás signifies "and," or "also." Waklumāha lubūs nígás maséñ, I bought a hat and a knife. Owakinka waktāka nigás mihéñ nomba lek, I met a man and two women.
$L i$, which expresses "if," appears to be combined with the verb, at least in pronunciation ; thus: Liłīok, voagetāgita, If he comes, I will tell him ; wihūta, Jan likiolk, I will come if John comes. It is noticeable in the last two examples that the accent or stress of voice in the word litiok, if he comes, appears to vary with the position of the word in the sentence.

## Syntax.

The only points of interest which were ascertained in regard to the syntax of the language related to the position of words in a sentence.

The adjective follows the noun which it qualifies, as wahtake b̄ , good man, at $\bar{z}$ as $\bar{a} \tilde{n}$, white house. The rule applies to the numerals, as mihán noñsa, one woman, at̄ noñbai, two houses. In this respect the Tutelo conforms to the rule which prevails in the Dakota and Hidatsa languages, as well as in the dialects of the Iroquois stock. In the Algonkin languages, on the other hand, the adjective precedes the noun.

The position of the verb appears to be a matter of indifference. It sometimes precedes the noun expressing either the subject or the object, and sometimes follows it, the meaning being determined apparently, as in Latin, by the inflection. Thus "I see a man," is minēwa wairoăq (I see him a man) ; and "the man sees me" is miinēoa wainoaq (he sees me the man). Tçoñko miñgō, give me a dog ; litétęoñki, kill the dog. In the last example the change from tçoñoo to tçontio is apparently not a grammatical inflection, but is merely euphonic. The verb in the imperative mood sufficiently shows the speaker's meaning, and the position of the noun is a matter of emphasis. "A dog give me," not a knife ; " Fill the dog," don't let him escape.

A verb is placed after another verb to which it bears the relation expressed by our infinitive ; as mingiloqkè waktēta, let me kill him (allow me, I will kill him). Walconta opēta, I will make him go (I cause him he will go).
The euphonic changes which words undergo in construction with other words are as marked in this language as they are in the proper Dakota tongue, and seem to be often of a similar, if not identical, character in the two languages. Thus in Dakota the word çuñlia, dog, becomes çuñke when a possessive pronoun is prefixea. In the Tutelo a similar change takes place when the position of the noun is altered; thus we have tçontoo miñg $\bar{o}$, give me a dog ; lite tçoñki, kill the dog. The terminal vowel is frequently dropped, and the consonant preceding it undergoes a change ; thus in Dakota yuza, to hold, becomes yus in the phrase yus majin, to stand holding. In Tutelo nahāmbi (properly nahā̃̃ bi) or nahābi, day, becomes nahāmp (or nahāp), in nahāmp lāli (or nahāp latī), three days. In such instances the two words which are thus in construction are pronounced as though they formed a single word.

## VOCABULARY.

Particular care was taken to obtain, as correctly as possible, all the words comprised in the comparative vocabulary adopted by Gallatin for his Synopsis of the Indian languages. Many other words, expressive of the most common objects or actions, have been added. The alphabetical arrangement is adopted for convenience of reference, in lieu of the different order which Gallatin preferred for the purposes of his work. The.Dakota and Hidalsa words are derived from the dictionaries of Mr. Riggs and Dr, Matthews, with the necessary changes of orthography which are required for the direct comparison of the three languages.

When several words are given in the Tutelo list, they are sometimes, as will be seen, mere variations of pronunciation or of grammatical form, and sometimes entirely distinct expressions. The Tutelo has no less than four words for "man," wahtālca, waiy $\bar{u} \iota a$ (or waivaq) y $\bar{u}$ 'ねa $\tilde{n}$, and $n \bar{o} n a$, which have doubtless different shades of meaning, though these were not ascertained. There are also two distinct words meaning "to see," inēıoa, and oliāla, and two for "go," opēroa and qala (or, rather opa and la, answering to opa and ya in Dakota). A more complete knowledge of the language would doubtless afford the means of discriminating between these apparently synonymous terms.

The words marked N in the vocabulary are those which were received from Nikonha himself. The pronunciation of these words may be accepted as that of a Tutelo of the full blood, and as affording a test of the correctness of the others.

|  | Tutelo. | Dakota. | Hidatsa, |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Alive | inī, enī, inina | ni | hiwakatsa |
| All | hūk, hōk, okahōk | iyuqpa | qukaheta; etsa |
| And | nigás | kha; tẹa; uñkañ; nakuñ | iça |
| Arm | hiçto ( N ) histo | isto | ara |
| Arrowo | mañksīi; māñkōi (N) | wañhiñkpe | ita, maita |
| Ashes | alapōk | tęqqota | midūtsapi |
| Aunt | watemai ; tomin | tuñ win | içami ; ika |
| Autumn | tāñyi, tä'i | ptañyetu | mata |
| Avoake | kiklēse | kikta | itsi ; hidamitats |
| Axe | nisēp ( N ), hisēpi, hisép | oñspe | maiptsa |
| Bad | okāyek (N) okāyik, ukāyik | çitça | icia |
| Bag | mañksūi | ojuha | içi |
| Ball | tapi | tapa | máotàpi |
| Berlc ( $n$ ) | qäpi; yohiñk | çañha | midaiçi ; qùpi (v) |
| Bear | mūnti ( N ) mōnti, moñdi | mato | daqpitsi |
| Beads | watai | totodañ | akutohi |


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| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Tutelo. | Dakota. | Hidatsa. |
| $B$ saver | yaืวp ( N ) munaqka | tę upa | mirapa |
| Beard | yēhī ; istihiói | putiñhiñ̃ (hĩ̃̃, hair, içti, underlip) | iki (hi, hair) |
| Bed | säsi | owinja | aduqùpi |
| Beg | oyándise | da; kida | kadi |
| Bird | māyīnk | zitká; wakiñyañ | tsakaka |
| Bird's nest | mayeñ giéqta, | hoqpi | ikiçi |
| Bite off (to) | latkūsisel, | yaksá | adudatsa |
| Black | asépi, asùp (N) | sapa | cipi |
| Blood | wâyî (N) | we | idi |
| Blue | asōti | to ; sota | tohi |
| Body | tēsi ; yūqtéki | tañçañ ; (tezi, belly) | iqo (titsi, thick, stout) |
| Boil (to) | hīehā | ohañ ; ipiqya | midue |
| Bone | wahōi, wahūi | hu | hidu |
| Book | minagi | wowapi |  |
| Boy | wakasik (N); gutskai ; waitiwa | hokçidañ ; koçká | makadistamatse |
| Boro (n) | inōsīk, inōsek (N) | itazipa ; tinazipe | itanuqa ; minuqa |
| Brain | wasōti, wasūt | nasu | tsuùta |
| Bread | wagesākwāi, wāksākpāi | aguyapi | madahapi |
| Break (to) with |  |  |  |
| foot | lakatkūsisel | naksá | anaqoqi |
| Brother | niwāgenúmpai (N) iñginumbai | tciñye | iaka;itanu; itame- |
| Brother, elder |  |  | tsa |
|  | witañsk ; wital ; wahīik | teiñye ; timdo | itametsa ; iaka |
| Brother, |  |  |  |
| Buffzlo | iap; mampañdahkai | tatañka ; pte | kedapi ; mite |
| Burn (v, a.) | inausíngã | ghu ; aghu | anaqa |
| Bury | sùntése | ga ; huaka |  |
| But | mi | tuka. |  |
| Buy | kilomỉha ; wăglumihínta | opetoñ | maihu |
| Call (v, a.) | kikōha; gelāki | kitȩo | kikuha (invite) |
| Canoe | miñkolhăpi, meñkolahāpi | wata ; cañwata | midaluetsa; mina luetsa |
| Oat | pūs (N) (i. e. puss) | inmuçuñka (dogpanther) | 4 |
| Cause (v) | konta | etçonkiya |  |

Hale.]
Tutelo. $\begin{array}{ll}\text { Cheek } & \text { ùkstéh } \\ \text { Cherry } & \text { yosañkrota } \\ \text { Child } & \text { wakasik; wāgots }\end{array}$ wakasīk; wāgots-

38 käi (seesmall)
Chop (v)
Churn (v) mampamasawohōka boteco

## Cloud

Club
Cold
Come
Copper
Count (v)
Cranberry Crane Crow ( $n$ )
Ory (v)
Out (v) with lnife

Dance (v) wagitçi ( N ), ketçi
Darloness usīhaa, ohsīha
Duughter (my) witēka ( N ), wi-
ohañke, miohañk mitcuñkẹi
nahambe, nahamp, nahañpe

Dakota.
tapoñ, iyoqa
tcañpa, kakañpidan matsu
Hidatsa.
hokçiyopa daka; makadiçta
kaksa naktsùki
tsakaka itsi
midakaza titsi tsinie
hu
netsahiçiçi
yawa
potkañka, potpañka
pehañ opitsa
untçiçıtçadañ pedetska
tęeya
baksá
watçi
okpaza (hañ, night) oktsi; tatsi
maka
mape
te
tẹitatùki
wakañçitça
ta
te
çunka maçuka
yatkañ hi ; minhi

Dead
Deer
Devil (evil spirit)
Die
Dog
Drinic (v)
Duck
tē, tēka
witāi
māmpā isī
tē (N), tēolāha
tȩoñg (N) tȩoñgo tçoñki, tȩoñk
lākpē, lapēta
İçtai ( N ), heistañ,
manēasēi (see
Goose)
Ear
Earth
Eat
Egg
Eight

| naqōq ( N ), nahūh | noghe ; nakpa | akuqi |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| amāni, amāi | maka | ama |
| lūti | yuta | duti (nuti) |
| mayiñk pōs (see Bird) | witka | tsakakadaki |
| pālán (N) palāni, palâli | eadoghan | nopapi |


|  | Tutelo. | Dakota. | Hidatsa, |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Eighteen | agepalāli, akipalāni | ake çadoghañ | aqpidopapi |
| Eleven. | agenosai, akinosai | ake wanjidañ | aqpiduetsa |
| Evening | osihitewa (see Darkness, Night) | qayetu | oktsiade |
| Eye | tasūi, tasūye (N) (mentasūi, mye.) |  | içta |
| Face | talūkna; tarūbna (mentalōken, my f. | ite ; itohnake | ite |
| Father | cāti; tât ( N ) ; yāt ( N ) |  | ate ; tatiç |
| Fifteen | agegīsai, akekisāi | ake-zaptañ) | aqpikiqu |
| Finger | hāk (see Hand) | nape | çakiadutsami |
| Finger-nails | tsutsăki, tçutçăg | cake | çakisçpr |
| Fire | pītę ( N ) pēti, pētę | peta |  |
| Fish | wihoi ( N ) | hoghañ | mua |
| Five | kacä (N) kisē, kisañ, kisāhi, kisāháñi | zaptaĭ | kiqu |
| Flesh | wāyuqtéki, wayn̄qtik | tçeqpi ; tȩonitça | idukȩiti |
| Fog | manotihūa | оро | pue |
| Food | walūti | woyute | maduti |
| Foot | içi (N) isí | siba |  |
| Forehead | tikōi ; pania minte |  | iqi |
| Forest | 1ăhkāi | tçoñtañka |  |
| Four | tōp ( N ), tōpa, topai, toba | topa | topa |
| Fourteen | agetoba, akitopa | ake-topa | aqpitopa |
| Fox $x$ | tohkai | ctuñgidañ | iqoka |
| Priend | witāhe, witaq ${ }^{\text {a }}$ | koda ; kitçuwa | idakoe ; iko |
| Ghost | wanùntȩi | wanaghi | nokidaqi |
| Girl | wägatę(N) wakasīk kômqāñ (N) | witçiñyañna | makadiçtamía ; miakaza |
| Go | opewa; qala ; la | ya; opa | nakon ; ne ; kaua |
| God | èiñgyeñ, eũñgă | wakañ̃tañku | daqi, naqi (spirit) |
| Good | ebī (N), bi, pī, ipī bīwa | waçte ; pi (obsolete) | tsūkí |
| Goose | manēasān | magha | mina |
| Grandfather | ekuñi, higũn | tuñkañçidañ | adutaka |
| Grandmother | higūก̃ | kuñsitku; uñtçi | iku |
| Grass | sùnktāki ( N ), muk tăgi ; otōi | peji | mika' |
| Great | itání (N), ităñ | tañka | iqtia |
| Green | otō ( N ), otolakōi | to | tohiça |


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| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Tutelo. | Dakota. | Hidatsa. |
| Gun | minktē ( N ) | mazakañ |  |
| Hait | nōq | wasu | ma'kùqpitami |
| Hair | $\begin{aligned} & \text { natónwe(N), nañtói, } \\ & \text { natói } \end{aligned}$ | natú; hiñ | ana; hi |
| Hand | hāg (N), hāki, āk | nape (cake, claw, finger-nail) | çaki |
| Handsome | pirē ( $N$ ), ipī, ipīkam (see good) | owañyag waste | - |
| Have | tahoñtanēki | tiñ-maçtiñtça | itūki |
| Hat | lubūs ; kotubós (N) | wapaha | apoka. |
| Hatchet | (see axe) |  |  |
| He | im, i | ic, iye | i, çe |
| Head | pasūye ( N ), pasūi | pa | atu |
| Heart | yăñti ( N ), yanti; tāpī | tcante (tapi, liver) | na'ta (apiça, liver) |
| Here | nei | den, detu |  |
| Him | e, ei, i | iye, ic | i |
| Himself | esái, isáñi | iye, ic | iqki |
| House | atī (N) | tipi | ati |
| How many | tokēnuñ | tona, tonaka | tuami, tuaka |
| Hundred | ukenï, okeni | opawiñghe | pitikiqtia |
| Hunger (v) | kihnindewa | wotektehda (hungry) | aniti (hungry) |
| Husband | māñki | hihna | kida, kina |
| $I$ | ma, mi, mīm | mic, miye | ma, mi |
| I alone or Imy- |  |  |  |
| self | misáñi, misāi | mīye, miç, miçnana | miqki, mitsaki |
| Ice | noñhi ; miñ giratẹah | tȩgha | manūqi |
| If | 1 i | kiñhañ |  |
| Indian | wahtākai (man) | iktçewitçasta | amakanoqpaka |
| Iron | mañs, mās, masīqorăk | mazasapa | uetsa |
| Island | histēk, stēk, stestēki | wita |  |
| Kettle | yesiñk | teegha | miduqa |
| Kill | kitē ( N ), ktē, kitēse | kte, kats. | ta, kitahe |
| Knife | maséñi, masēi, masāi (N) masā | isan | maetsi |
| Lake | (see Sea) |  |  |
| Land | (see Earth) |  |  |
| Laugh | inksēha, îñkçē ( N ) | iqa | ka' |
| Leaf | otōi, otōq (N) | ape; wapa | midapa |


| Leg | Tutelo yeksā (N), ieksā, yeksāi; minī (my leg) | Dakota. | Hidatsa. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Long | yaposke ( N ) sui; yumpañkatska | hañska | hatski; (tsua, nar. row) |
| Lons | yandowasteka | waçtedaka | kidĕçi |
| Maize | mandaqēi, mātāqē (N) | wamuaheza | kohati |
| Make | aōma, aōñ | uñ | he, hini |
| Man | wahtahka, wāiyuā (N), waiyūwa, waiwaq; yuhkañ, nōna | witçaçta | matse, itaka, çikaka. |
| Marry | ohōn, ohōteha | ota | ahu |
| Me | mi, wi | ma, mi | mi |
| Meet | oaki | akipa | uzia |
| Mine | migītowe | mitawa | matawae |
| Moon | $\begin{gathered} \text { minnōsā' (N), mi- } \\ \text { mahēi (see Sun) } \end{gathered}$ | hañyetu-wi | makumidi |
| Morning | kanahāmpuai, kanahābnen (see Day) | hañhañna | ata |
| Mother | innā ( N ), henā, henùñ |  | hidu |
| Mountain | çũq̧e, sūhi; ohēki | qe; paha | amaqami |
| Mouth | ihī, îh ( N ) | i | i |
| Myself | (see "Talone") |  |  |
| Near | iñktēi, āskai | kiyedañ | atsa |
| Neck | tasēi, mintasēi (my <br> n.) | tahu; dote | ampa |
| Night | usī, osī | hañ ; hañyetu | oktsi |
| Nine | tsāen or tça (N), sā, sāñ, ksānk; ksākai, kasāñkai | naptȩinwañka | nuetsapi |
| Nineteen | agekisañka | uñma-naptçin | agpi-nuetsapi |
| No | yahan, ihao | hiya | desa; nesa |
| None | pāqtē, paqti | poghe | apa |
| Oak | tāskahōi, taskahūi (N) |  | midakamiqka |
| Old | hŏkkāi, hōhka | kañ | qe, qie |
| One | noñç ( N ), noñs, |  |  |
|  | nosāi, noñsa | wañji, sañni | nuetsa |

[^11]| Hale.] |  | 42 | [March 2, |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Ours | Tutelo. maqgïtowe | Dakota. uñkitawa | Hidatsa. matawae |
| Ourselves | maesāi, maesáñi |  | midohi |
| Partridge | wustetkai | zitça |  |
| Pigeon | mayūtkāi, wayōtkāi | wakiyedañ |  |
| Pine-tree | wästî, wäste ( N ) | wazi | matsi |
| Pipe | yehíñstik ( N ), ihî̀rtik, iheñstek (qu, "mouth-stone") | tçotañka; tẹañduhupa | ikipi |
| Pound (v) | pahë | apa | pa |
| Prairie | latahkoi | tiñta | amaadatsa, teduti |
| Rain | qawōi ( N ), qawōqa, hāwōhā, qawô | maghaju | qade |
| Raspberry | hasisiāi | takañhetça |  |
| Red | atsūti, atçūti, atçūt | duta (scarlet), (red) | hiçi |
| Remember | koñspêwa | kiksuya |  |
| River | taksīta, taksītai | wakpa; watpa | azi |
| Run (v) | hinda, hantá ( N ) | inyañka | tinie |
| Say (v) | hahëwa (see Speak) | eya | idé |
| Sea | yetañi, yetải, iētañ | mde (lake); miniwañtça (onewater) | $\begin{aligned} & \text { miníiqtia (great } \\ & \text { water) } \end{aligned}$ |
| See (v) | ohāta, inẽwa, waqēta | toñwañ ; wañyaka wañhdaka | ika ; atsiça |
| Seven | sāgóm ( N ), sagomēi, sagomíñk | çakowiñ | capua |
| Seventeen | agesagömi | ake-çakowiñ | aqpiçapua |
| Sew (v) | ihōha | kagheghe ; ipasisa | kikaki |
| Shoes | handisonōi ( N ), añ gohlēi, ägōre, ăgōdē | tcañhañpa | hupa; itapa |
| Shoot off (v) | opatañsel | bopōta |  |
| Sick | waginōma | yazañ | iqoade |
| Sing (v) | yảmùñiyē ( N ) | dowañ; ahiyaya |  |
| Sister | minēk ( N ), tahañk | tawinoqtin ; tañka, tanku | inu, itaku, içami |
| Sit | mahanañka | iyotañka | amaki |
| Six | agùs (N), akásp, akäspei | çakpe | akama |
| Sixteen | agegaspe | akeçakpe | aqpiakama |
| Sloy | $\begin{aligned} & \text { mañtōi, matoñi, } \\ & \text { matōi } \end{aligned}$ | maqpiya to | apaqi |


| 1883.] |  | 43 | [Hale. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Tutelo. | Dakota. | Hidatsa. |
| Sleep (v) | hīyăñ ( N ) ; hianta, hiantkapewa | içtiñma | hami, hinami |
| Small | kutçkai (N), kūtskai, kotskai | tçistiñna; tçikadañ; nickodañ | kariçta |
| Snake | wâgenî | wañ; wamduęka | mapokça |
| Son | witēka ( N ), tēkai; qūtçkai(see\|Small) | tçinktçi (koęká, young man) | idiçi |
| Speak | niça ( N ), sahéñta, sahīta, hahēwa, oaklaka | ia; yaotañiñ | idé, iné |
| Spring ( $n$ ) | wehahempēi, wehaéhimpē; maste | wetu (maçté, warm) |  |
| Squirrel | nistãqkai | taçnahetęa; hetkadañ; ziça |  |
| Stamp (v) with foot | nañkōkisek | natata, natañtañ |  |
| Star | tabunītçkai ( N ), tapniñskai | witçañqpi | içka |
| Stay (v) | nañka (see Sit) | yañka | daka |
| Steal | manoñ, manôma | manoñ | açadi |
| Stone | histéki, nistēk (N) | iñyañ | mi' |
| Strazobervy | haspahínuk | wajuçtetça | amuáqoka |
| Strike | kohinùnhiwa | apa, kaçtaka |  |
| Strong | itāi; soti; wảyupăki | suta; waç'aka | itsii |
| Summer | wēhê piwa (see Spring) | mdoketu | ade, mande |
| Sun | mie or min (N), mi (see Moon) | wi | midi |
| Sweep (v) | lakaplék | kahiñta |  |
| Ten. | pōtsk ( N ), putsk, butçk, putskai, putskáñi | wiktçemna | pitika |
| That | yukān; nēikiñ | ka, koñ | ku |
| Thee | hi, yi | ni | ni |
| Their | gitonnēsel | tawapi | itamae |
| There | kowai | hetȩi; heñ; ka; kañki | hidikoa; kuadi; çekoa |
| They | imahese | iyepi | i |
| Thine | yiñgĩtowe | nitawa | nitawae |
| Thirteen | agelali | ake-yamni | aqpinami |
| Thirty | putȩka nani | wiktçemna yamni | damia-pitika |


| Hale.] |  | 44 | [March 2, |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Tutelo. | Dakota. | Hidatsa. |
| This | néke, neikiñ | de ; detçedañ | hidi ; hini |
| Think | opemīha; koñspëwa | eçiñ ; epça | idie ; inie |
| Thou | yīm, ya, ye | nie, ya, ye | na, ni |
| Thousand | okeni butskai, ukeni |  |  |
|  | mbutskai | kektopawiñghe | pitikiqtia akakodi |
| Three | nān (N) nāni, lāt, lāni | yamni | nami, nawi |
| Thunder | tūi ; tūhangrūa | otiñ | tahu |
| Thyself | yisái, yesáñi | niye, niç | niqki |
| Tie (v) | olohī | iyakaęka ; paqta | dutskiti |
| Tobacco | yéhni, yihnū | tẹañdi | ope |
| To-day | nahámblekéñ (see Day) | etçin ; nakaha ; añ. petu kiñ de | hini-mape |
| Toes | atkasusai | siyukaja ; sipiñkpa | itsiadutsamihe |
| To-morrowo | $\begin{aligned} & \text { nahampk (see To- } \\ & \text { day) } \end{aligned}$ | heyaketciñkañ | ataduk, ataruk |
| Tongue | netȩi, netsi, letci | tçeji | dezi (nezi) |
| Tooth | ihi ( N ) | hi | i, hi |
| Toron | māmpī, māmbī | otoñwe | ati, ati ahu |
| Tree | onī; wiéñ ( N ) míeñ (see Wood) | tçañ | mina (wood) |
| Turkey | māndähkāi, māndùhkāi | zitça tañka |  |
| Troelve | agenomba | ake-noñpa | ```aqpidopa (agpi- nора)``` |
| Troenty | putska nomba | wiktcemna noñpa | nopapitika |
| Twoo | nomp ( N ) nomba | noñpa | nopa, dopa |
| Ugly | ukāyik (see Bad) | owañyaq sitça | icia |
| Uncle (my) | minêk' | midekçi; ate (father) | ate ; itadu |
| Us | mae, wae | บก̃ | mido, wiro |
| Valley | oñqyāyùũ | kaksiza ; tçokañ | amaqaktupi |
| Watle (v) | yalēwa (see Go) | mani | dide |
| Warm | akäteka, akätia | kata ; tçoza ; maçte | ade |
| Warrior | ērutâoñe | akitçita; mdetahuñka | akimakikua |
| Water | $\operatorname{manin}(\mathrm{N})$ | mini | mini, midi |
| We | mīm, mae, wae, mañ, māesáñ | uñ |  |
| Weave | añktāka | yañka ; kazoñta |  |
| Weep | qaka | teeya | imia |
| Which | ētuk | tukte | tapa |
| What is that? | kakāñ*ä | taku (what) | tapa |


| 1883.1 | 45 |  | [Hale. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Tatelo. | Dakota. | Hidatsa. |
| When | tokēnäq | tohiñni ; kehañ | tuakaduk; tuakaçedu |
| Where | tokā | toki, tokiya | torn, toka |
| White | asùñi ( N ), asañi, <br> asai, asei sañ; ska atùki; oq |  |  |
| Who | ketoa, hetōa | tuwe | tape |
| Whose | tewakï:ùawa | tuwetaw: | tapeitamae |
| Wife | (same as Woman) mihañi | tawitęu | itadamia; ua |
| Wind | maniñkiē ( N ), mamùnklēi, maminkrē, |  |  |
| Winter | wāneñi, wānēi | wani, waniyetu | mana;tsinie (cold) |
| Wolf | mùñktagín (N), mùnktōkäi, mak tuka! | çuñktoketẹa | motsa; tçeça |
| Woman | miháñi, mihañ ( N ), |  |  |
| Wood | miyeñi, miéñ, miyêi | tęañ | mina |
| Worlc (v) | oknahō | $q \operatorname{tani}$ | dahe ; kikça |
| Te | yim (see Thou) | niyepi | dido; niro |
| Yellow | siii | zi | tsi |
| Yes | ahá, aháñ, awāqa | hañ; ho | e |
| Yesterday | sitō | qtanihañ | hudiçedu; huri çeru |
| Young | yéñki | askatudañ wota |  |
| Your (pl) | yiñgītambūi | nitawapi |  |

Stated Meeting, April 20, 1889.
Present, 12 members.

## President, Mr. Fraley, in the Chair.

Mr . Claypole was introduced and took his seat.
A photograph of Prof. G. H. Cook was presented for the Album.
Prof. P. E. Chase accepted his appointment to prepare an obituary notice of Daniel B. Smith.
Letters of acknowledgment were received from the Holland [Continued on page 48.]


[^0]:    *Batt's Journal and Relation of a New Discovery, in N. Y. Hist. Col. Vol. Hii, p. 191.
    †Lambreville to Bruyas, Nov, 4, 1636, in N. Y. Hist. Col., Vol, ili, p. 484.
    $\ddagger$ Gallatin suggests that Lawson was here in error, and that the Sapona river was a branch of the Great Pedee, which he does not mention, and some branches which he evidently mistook for tributarles of the Cape Fear river.-Synopsis of the Indian Tribes, p. 85.

[^1]:    * Lawson's "History of Carolina;" reprinted by Strother \& Marcom. Raleigh, $1860 ;$ p. 384.
    + "Elle" (the Ohio) "s'appelle par les Illinols et par les Oumiamis la rivière des Akanseas, parceque les Akanseas l'habitoientautrefois" "-Gravier, Relation du Voyage, p. 10. I am indebted for this and other references to my esteemed friend, Dr, J. G. Shea, whose unsurpassed knowledge of Indian history is not more admivable than the liberality with which its stores are placed at the command of his friends.

[^2]:    * N. Y. Hist. Col., Vol. v, p. 655 et seq.

[^3]:    * N. Y. Hist. Col., Vol. v, p. 660.
    +Gallatin, in his Synopsis classes the Catawba as a separate stock, distinct from the Dakota. The vocabulary which he gives seems to warrant this separation, the resemblances of words being few and of a doubtful character. On the other hand, in the first annual report of the Bureaw of Ethnology connected with the Smithsonian Institution (Introduction, p. xix) the Kataba (or Catawba) is ranked among the languages of the Dakotan family. My esteemed correspondent, Mr, A.S. Gatschet, whose extensive acquaintance with Indiau linguisties gives great weight to hisopinion on any subject connected with this study, informs me (Marel 31, 1882) that this classification was conjectural and provisional, and that his subsequent researches among the few survivors of the tribe have not yet resulted in contirming it. They show certain traces of resemblance, both in the vocabulary and the syntax, but too slight and distant to make the affliation certain. We shall have, as he remarks, "to compare more material, or more attentively that which we have, to arrive at a final result."

[^4]:    * Life of Brainerd, p. 167, Am. Traot Soo. edition. Quoted in the "Life of Zeisberger," by De Schweinitz, p. 71.
    + Life of Zeisberger, by De Sohweinitz, p. 149.

[^5]:    * N. Y. Hist. Col. Vol, vi, p, 811.
    +Stone's Life of Sir William Johnson, Vol, i, p. 484.
    $\ddagger$ 10id., Vol. if, p. 487.

[^6]:    *'I am indebted for this and much other valuable information to my friend General John S. Clark, of Auburn, N. Y., who has made the location and migrations of the Indian tribes the subject of a special study. Of the above names Dehoriss kanadia is apparently a corruption of the Mohawk words Tehoterigh kanada, Tutelo town. The other words are probably, like most Indian names of places, descriptive designations, but are too much corrupted to be satisfactorily deciphered.

[^7]:    *See "The Discoveries of John Lederer," reprinted by O. H. Harpel. Cineinnati, 1879, p. 17.

[^8]:    * See the note on page 303 of Dr Brinton's volume, $2 d$ edition.
    $\dagger$ History of Virginia (1st edition), p. 161.
    $\ddagger$ Ibideq p. 171.

[^9]:    * In wagutska (Dakota, koçlea), suntka, younger brother (Dak., sunka); tçongo or tçunki, dog (Dak., cunkk ) and many similar words, the $t$ is apparently an adscititions sound, inserted by a mere trick of pronunciation. The Hidatsa carries this practice further, and constantly introduces the sound of $t$ before the sharp s. The Tutelo $i s i$, foot, becomes itsi in Hidatsa; sani , cold, becomes tsinia, \&c.

[^10]:    * I am indebted to Mr. Dorsey's letters for this and much other information of great interest respecting the western languages of the Dakota stock, forming part of his extensive work, which we may hope will soon be publlshed.
    + Ethnography and Philology of the U.S. Exploring Expedition under Chas. Wilkes, pp. 534, et seq.
    $\ddagger$ Ibid., p. 24 .

[^11]:    PROC. AMER. PHILOS, SOc. XXI. 114. F. PRINTED MAY 8, 1883.

